

# EXHIBIT 1

# Senate Dem on Armed Services panel: Trump lying about CIA report on Khashoggi

By [Kate Sullivan](#) and [Zachary Cohen](#), CNN

Updated 1700 GMT (0100 HKT) November 23, 2018



Source: [CNN](#)

Sen. Jack Reed: Trump lying about CIA report 02:19

**Washington (CNN)** — The top Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee on Friday accused President Donald Trump of lying about the CIA's report that Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman personally ordered the killing of journalist Jamal Khashoggi.

Trump said Thursday that the CIA "did not come to a conclusion" about the crown prince's involvement in the murder.

"They have feelings certain ways, but they didn't -- I have the report," Trump said.

When asked if the President was lying about the CIA's conclusion, Rhode Island Democratic Sen. Jack Reed said, "Yes. The CIA concluded that the crown prince of Saudi Arabia was directly involved in the assassination of Khashoggi."

Khashoggi, a Saudi Arabian journalist and US resident, was killed in a Saudi consulate in Istanbul last month. He was a frequent critic of the Saudi Arabian government.

"They did it, as has been reported to the press, with high confidence, which is the highest level of accuracy that they will vouch for," Reed said. "It's based on facts, it's based on analysis. The notion that they didn't reach a conclusion is just unsubstantiated. The CIA has made that clear."

assessment, US officials have high confidence in the report. The Saudi government has steadfastly denied the ruler was involved.

A CIA official told CNN Friday that there is still no smoking gun implicating the crown prince directly and the intelligence assessment is ongoing. As part of that process, the CIA is analyzing relevant intelligence within the context of what is already known about the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the official said.

Intelligence officials have said the CIA presented the President with a confidence-based assessment given the facts of the situation.

**Related Article:** Trump politicizes Thanksgiving call with troops to attack migrants, judges

Trump, who has emphasized US arms deals with Saudi Arabia as a key reason for maintaining the US alliance, praised the nation Thursday as a "strong ally" and said, "I don't know if anyone's going to be able to conclude that the crown prince did it."

vehemently," Trump said.

"But whether he did or whether he didn't, he denies it

"The CIA doesn't say they did it," Trump said. "They said he might have done it -- that's a big difference."

"I hate the crime," the President said, inexplicably adding, "The crown prince hates it more than I do."

A US intelligence official [acknowledged](#) that Trump's statement [earlier in the week](#) -- in which he signaled he would not take strong action against Saudi Arabia or the crown prince -- has irked some members of the clandestine community but noted that the CIA provided the White House with an assessment based on the facts available, and if the President is skeptical or doesn't believe certain pieces of information, then that is his right.

"The White House might not like what's brought forward but ultimately what we provide is based on facts and it is up to the President to believe it or not," the official said, adding that the role of the intelligence community is to offer a confidence-based assessment given the facts available, not a conclusive determination.

A senior administration official told CNN that an intelligence report about the murder reportedly sent to Trump on Tuesday and delivered in physical form is an assessment of all the intelligence gathered so far, but will not present a final conclusion. That's in keeping with intelligence community practice: agencies assign a confidence level to their findings because intelligence isn't conclusive.

And though sources tell CNN that the CIA has assessed with high confidence that the prince directed Khashoggi's murder, which was conducted by members of bin Salman's inner circle, the fact that they don't make a final conclusion gives the White House an out.

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Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Bob Corker [told CNN earlier this week](#) that top Trump administration officials need to brief the full Senate as soon as next week about the circumstances behind Khashoggi's killing before senators

decide what actions to take against Saudi Arabia.

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# EXHIBIT 2



STATEMENTS & RELEASES

## Statement from President Donald J. Trump on Standing with Saudi Arabia

FOREIGN POLICY

Issued on: November 20, 2018



*America First!*

The world is a very dangerous place!

The country of Iran, as an example, is responsible for a bloody proxy war against Saudi Arabia in Yemen, trying to destabilize Iraq's fragile attempt at democracy, supporting the terror group Hezbollah in Lebanon, propping up dictator Bashar Assad in Syria (who has killed millions of his own citizens), and much more. Likewise, the Iranians have killed many Americans and other innocent people throughout the Middle East. Iran states openly, and with great force, "Death to America!" and "Death to Israel!" Iran is considered "the world's leading sponsor of terror."

On the other hand, Saudi Arabia would gladly withdraw from Yemen if the Iranians would agree to leave. They would immediately provide desperately needed humanitarian assistance. Additionally, Saudi Arabia has agreed to spend billions of dollars in leading the fight against Radical Islamic Terrorism.

After my heavily negotiated trip to Saudi Arabia last year, the Kingdom agreed to spend and invest \$450 billion in the United States. This is a record amount of money. It will create hundreds of thousands of jobs, tremendous economic development, and much additional wealth for the United States. Of the \$450 billion, \$110 billion will be spent on the purchase of military equipment from Boeing, Lockheed Martin, Raytheon and many other great U.S. defense contractors. If we foolishly

cancel these contracts, Russia and China would be the enormous beneficiaries – and very happy to acquire all of this newfound business. It would be a wonderful gift to them directly from the United States!

The crime against Jamal Khashoggi was a terrible one, and one that our country does not condone. Indeed, we have taken strong action against those already known to have participated in the murder. After great independent research, we now know many details of this horrible crime. We have already sanctioned 17 Saudis known to have been involved in the murder of Mr. Khashoggi, and the disposal of his body.

Representatives of Saudi Arabia say that Jamal Khashoggi was an “enemy of the state” and a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, but my decision is in no way based on that – this is an unacceptable and horrible crime. King Salman and Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman vigorously deny any knowledge of the planning or execution of the murder of Mr. Khashoggi. Our intelligence agencies continue to assess all information, but it could very well be that the Crown Prince had knowledge of this tragic event – maybe he did and maybe he didn’t!

That being said, we may *never* know all of the facts surrounding the murder of Mr. Jamal Khashoggi. In any case, our relationship is with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. They have been a great ally in our very important fight against Iran. The United States intends to remain a steadfast partner of Saudi Arabia to ensure the interests of our country, Israel and all other partners in the region. It is our paramount goal to fully eliminate the threat of terrorism throughout the world!

I understand there are members of Congress who, for political or other reasons, would like to go in a different direction – and they are free to do so. I will consider whatever ideas are presented to me, but only if they are consistent with the absolute security and safety of America. After the United States, Saudi Arabia is the largest oil producing nation in the world. They have worked closely with us and have been very responsive to my requests to keeping oil prices at reasonable levels – so important for the world. As President of the United States I intend to ensure that, in a very dangerous world, America is pursuing its national interests and vigorously contesting countries that wish to do us harm. Very simply it is called America First!

# EXHIBIT 3



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## 'I saved his a--': Trump boasted that he protected Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman after Jamal Khashoggi's brutal murder, Woodward's new book says

Sonam Sheth and John Haltiwanger Sep 10, 2020, 11:41 AM



President Donald Trump speaks with Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman at the G20 summit in Osaka, Japan, on June 28, 2019. REUTERS/Kevin Lamarque

- President Donald Trump bragged that he protected Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman after the assassination and dismembering of the Washington Post

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- "I saved his ass," Trump had said amid the US outcry over Khashoggi's killing, according to Bob Woodward's new book. "I was able to get Congress to leave him



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the president told the world he didn't believe that he ordered Khashoggi's murder, though the US and other foreign intelligence services concluded that he did order the attack.

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- After Khashoggi's murder, Trump bypassed Congress to sell roughly \$8 billion in arms to the Saudis and the United Arab Emirates. He vetoed a trio of resolutions blocking the sale, as well as a resolution to end US support for the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen.
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President Donald Trump bragged that he protected Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman from congressional scrutiny after the brutal assassination of the American journalist [Jamal Khashoggi](#).

That's according to the veteran reporter Bob Woodward's upcoming book, "[Rage](#)," set to be released next Tuesday. Insider obtained a copy of the book.

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well as interviews with multiple senior White House officials and former



Woodward wrote that Trump called him on January 22 shortly after attending the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. During the conversation, Woodward pressed the president about Khashoggi's gruesome murder.

Khashoggi, 59, a longtime Washington Post columnist known for his criticism of the Saudi kingdom, was assassinated and dismembered at the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul on October 2, 2018, after going there to get paperwork for his upcoming marriage.

The [CIA concluded](#) a little over a month later that Prince Mohammed, also known as MBS, had personally ordered Khashoggi's murder.

"The people at the Post are upset about the Khashoggi killing," Woodward told Trump on January 22, his book says. "That is one of the most gruesome things. You yourself have said."

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ordering Khashoggi's killing.





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"I saved his ass," Trump had said amid the US outcry following Khashoggi's murder, the book says. "I was able to get Congress to leave him alone. I was able to get them to stop."

The White House did not offer a comment when contacted by Insider.

When a reporter pressed Trump on Thursday about what the president meant when he said he'd "saved" the Saudi leader's "ass," Trump replied: "You'll have to figure that out yourself."

During his January 22 conversation with Woodward, the president said: "Well, I understand what you're saying, and I've gotten involved very much. I know everything about the whole situation."

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Trump added that Saudi Arabia spent billions of dollars on US products. He also stressed MBS's claim that he's innocent, though US intelligence and other foreign intelligence agencies have concluded otherwise.



**Trump holds a chart of military hardware sales next to Prince Mohammed in the White House on March 20, 2018.**

Jonathan Ernst/Reuters

"He will always say that he didn't do it," Trump said of MBS. "He says that to everybody, and frankly I'm happy that he says that. But he will say that to you, he will say that to Congress, and he will say that to everybody. He's never said he did it."

"No, he says that he didn't do it," Trump replied.



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"I know, but do you really believe —" Woodward said before Trump cut him off.

"He says very strongly that he didn't do it," Trump said. "Bob, they spent \$400 billion over a fairly short period of time."

He added: "And you know, they're in the Middle East. You know, they're big. Because of their religious monuments, you know, they have the real power. They have the oil, but they also have the great monuments for religion. You know that, right? For that religion.

"They wouldn't last a week if we're not there, and they know it," he said.

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Trump repeatedly used executive power to block or bypass congressional efforts to cut ties with Riyadh after Khashoggi's murder.

Last year, he [vetoed a bipartisan bill](#) to end US support for the Saudis in Yemen. The war in Yemen has led to a devastating humanitarian crisis, and the Saudi-led coalition has [killed civilians using US-made bombs](#).

The president also [bypassed Congress](#) to push through an arms sale worth roughly \$8 billion to the Saudis and the United Arab Emirates, and he later vetoed several resolutions blocking the sale.

More recently, Trump has moved to circumvent a decades-old arms-control pact in order to sell weaponized drones to the Saudis and to other countries in the region, [sparking backlash](#) from Democrats and Republicans in Congress.

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# EXHIBIT 4

**BREAKING: Former Michigan governor charged in Flint water scandal** 



MEET THE PRESS

## President Trump's full, unedited interview with Meet the Press

 TAP TO UNMUTE

EXCLUSIVE  
**MEET THE PRESS**



June 23, 2019, 7:59 AM CDT

**By Chuck Todd**

CHUCK TODD:

Mr. President, welcome back to Meet the Press.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Thank you.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me start right in, what happened last night?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, you had a situation that was very bad because the night before, they shot down an unmanned drone. And the unmanned is a very big factor. The fact that there was not a person on it, a U.S. person on it, or anybody. And that had an impact on me. I said, "Well, you know, we got a little problem." And I think they did that on purpose because they understand that they will be hit very hard if that were a plane with a person in it. And I think they knew that there was nobody there. So we had a very, you know, modest but pretty, pretty heavy attack schedule.

CHUCK TODD:

And this is a pre-plan that you had, something that if they did something, you had something --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah, we had it --

CHUCK TODD:

-- these were sort of ready-made plans --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Sure, we have many of them --

CHUCK TODD:

-- to use if necessary, right?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Oh, I have so many targets you wouldn't believe.

CHUCK TODD:

Right.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

We have targets all over.

CHUCK TODD:

So did you green light something? Or had you said --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Nothing's --

CHUCK TODD:

"If we do it, I'll do this." What was, what was the order you gave?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Nothing is green lighted until the very end because --

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- things change, right?

CHUCK TODD:

So you never gave a final order?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, no, no, no. But we had something ready to go, subject to my approval. And they came in. And they came in about a half an hour before, they said, "So we're about ready to go." I said, "I want a better definition --"

CHUCK TODD:

Planes in the air? Were planes in the air?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, no. "We're about ready to go." No, but they would have been pretty soon. And things would have happened to a point where you wouldn't turn back or couldn't turn back. So they came and they said, "Sir, we're ready to go. We'd like a decision." I said, "I want to know something before you go. How many people will be killed, in this case Iranians?" I said, "How many people are going to be killed?" "Sir, I'd like get back to you on that," great people these generals. They said, came back, said, "Sir, approximately 150." And I thought about it for a second and I said, "You know what? They shot down an unmanned drone, plane, whatever you want to call it. And here we are sitting with 150 dead people that would have taken place probably within a half an hour after I said go ahead." And I didn't like it. I didn't think it was, I didn't think it was proportionate. Now that doesn't mean --

CHUCK TODD:

So what should the response be right now?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think the response should be -- Well, first of all, as you know, we've done very massive sanctions. We're increasing the sanctions now. But the response is always going to be very strong. I built up a lot of capital. I've had a lot of people that aren't Trump fans saying, "I can't believe." You know, a lot of them said, "We're going to be in World War III the first week." Didn't work out that way. We're doing great in North Korea. We're doing great in a lot of different places. We knocked out the caliphate in Syria. We knocked out 100%. Remember I was going to leave it?

CHUCK TODD:

It's not 100%. Not everybody says it's 100%, even --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, no, no, the caliphate.

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:



No, the caliphate, which is the land.

CHUCK TODD:

The land.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

The area --

CHUCK TODD:

Fair enough.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- is 100%. You never knock these people out.

CHUCK TODD:

No, you won't.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

These people are stone cold crazy. And they walk into a store and they'll be wired up for bombs and they'll blow -- it's a horrible thing. So I never say that. I don't want to do what other presidents have done or other people have done saying, "We won," because you don't win so conclusively. I would love to have the day where we can win. You know, I remember when I was young I'd go on airplane and I'd walk up, I'd buy a ticket, I'd go on a plane. Nobody thought about bombs and nobody thought about security. You'd walk in, you'd give the ticket to the person at the gate and you'd walk into a plane. Today it's like, a big deal. So what happened is I said, "I'm not going to do it. I'll save it. If they do something else, it'll be double."

CHUCK TODD:

You think they were trying to provoke you?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, I don't think so. And I think it was very important that they, to them, don't forget, their economy --

CHUCK TODD:

They don't -- they, they --you don't think they intended to get you to respond militarily?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, their economy is shattered. Shattered.

CHUCK TODD:

So what's the message you think they're sending?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Their inflation is through the roof. They've never had, the highest in the world right now. Worse than any place. They're, they're living not well.

CHUCK TODD:

So put yourself in their shoes, what do you think the message they're trying to send you with this, with this drone?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think they want to negotiate. And I think they want to make a deal. And my deal is nuclear. Look, they're not going to have a nuclear weapon. This isn't about the straits. Do you know that China gets 91% of its oil from the straits? We don't even need the straits. We have, we are now, because of -- since I came in, we're the number one energy producer in the world. Okay? Actually by far. And if I get the pipelines approved through the environmental process, which I will in Texas, we'll go up by another 25%. But we're way ahead of Russia, we're way ahead of Saudi Arabia. And I think that they want to negotiate. I don't think they like the position they're in. Their economy is, is absolutely broken.

CHUCK TODD:

So you sent a letter to the Ayatollah via Prime Minister Abe. And the Ayatollah seemed to say, "I'm not talking to you."

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I didn't send a letter, no.

CHUCK TODD:

What was the --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I didn't, I didn't send a letter. No, no --

CHUCK TODD:

Was it a verbal message? What did Prime Minister Abe carry on your behalf?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Prime Minister Abe's a great guy. He's a friend of mine. And he obviously is close to them. I think he was their, their largest buyer of oil from before.

CHUCK TODD:

But did he, did he deliver a message from you to them?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No. He wanted to do something.

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

According to Prime Minister Abe, they went to him, it's according to the prime minister, and they said, "What do we do with Trump? Can we make a deal? Is there something that can be done?" That's what Prime Minister Abe told me. I said, "Do you mind if I say that if I have to?" And he said, "Not particularly." So they came to Prime Minister Abe. He then called me. I said, "Send the

following message: you can't have nuclear weapons. And other than that, we can sit down and make a deal. But you cannot have nuclear --"

CHUCK TODD:

No other --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

"-- weapons."

CHUCK TODD:

-- conditions other than that?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

You cannot have nuclear weapons. And they would have had them with President Obama. He gave them \$150 billion --

CHUCK TODD:

What is your deal?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Remember this.

CHUCK TODD:

I understand. But what is your deal --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

But, Chuck, you have to remember this.

CHUCK TODD:

-- going to look like with them?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Let me explain something. Number one, you have to look at the sites. Some of the most important sites we weren't even allowed to look at or inspect, okay? Number two, the term was not long enough.

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

There's like a short number of years left. After a very small number of years, he's talking about a country, after a very small number of years, they have a free pass to nuclear weapons. You can't do that. So I want to be able to inspect all sites. They cannot have ballistic missiles, which under the agreement, isn't even covered. And as you know, that agreement wasn't even approved by Congress. A lot of people don't know that. That was an agreement that he couldn't get through Congress. He was not authorized, really, to do that deal.

CHUCK TODD:

Congress did give him some authorization to do that. It gave him the power to cut the deal.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

It wasn't ratified by Congress.

CHUCK TODD:

It wasn't a, it wasn't a treaty.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

It was very, very short of what it should have been. You know that.

CHUCK TODD:

Don't you think though -- does it at all tell -- what does it tell you that the Iranians haven't violated the agreement yet? That they are trying hard not to violate this agreement?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, you see, I think they have violated the agreement because I think in the areas that we're not allowed to inspect they're doing things. And I think they have been for years.

CHUCK TODD:

Europeans don't think they're violating the agreement.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I don't care about the Europeans. The Europeans are going out and making a lot of money. The Europeans are fine. But they're going out and making a lot of money. They're selling, in France, they're selling cars to Iran. They're doing other things. And let me tell you, we're very good to Europe. We take care of them. NATO, we spend a tremendous amount, a disproportionate amount. On trade, the European Union's taken, really, they have really taken advantage of us for a long time. Just to finish, we have great relationships with Europe. I don't mind Europe getting in the middle. Europe wants to make a deal too. Europe would love to see a deal be made.

CHUCK TODD:

Are these going to be separate deals?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

By the way, Europe --

CHUCK TODD:

Do you want to do a separate deal with Iran? Or do you want to get everybody involved in the same deal? Get the Russians, get the Chinese?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I don't care which, what kind of a deal. It can be separate or it could be total.

CHUCK TODD:

But it's one-on-one talks, you and the Ayatollah?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

All it is -- all it is --

CHUCK TODD:

Is it one-on-one talks, you and the Ayatollah, or you and the President?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

It doesn't matter to me. Here's what I want, anything that gets you to the result. They cannot have a nuclear weapon. It's not about the straits. You know, a lot of people covered it incorrectly. They're never mentioned. They cannot have a nuclear weapon. They'd use it. And they're not going to have a nuclear weapon.

CHUCK TODD:

Did you send a message --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

And it's not about the oil.

CHUCK TODD:

-- last night? You know, Reuters is reporting that you sent a message to the Iranians saying, "I don't want war. I want to talk."

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Wrong. It's wrong. I did not send that message. I did not send that message. I don't know who --

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I don't know who would have said that.

CHUCK TODD:

Send a message right now to the Ayatollah.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I mean it's fake news.

CHUCK TODD:

Then send a message right now to the Ayatollah.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Wouldn't be much different than that message.

CHUCK TODD:

Which is?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I'm not looking for war and if there is, it'll be obliteration like you've never seen before. But I'm not looking to do that. But you can't have a nuclear weapon. You want to talk? Good. Otherwise you can have a bad economy for the next --

CHUCK TODD:

No pre-conditions?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- three years. Not as far as I'm concerned. No pre-conditions.

CHUCK TODD:

And you'll talk anywhere?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:



Here it is. Look, you can't have nuclear weapons. And if you want to talk about it, good. Otherwise you can live in a shattered economy for a long time to come.

CHUCK TODD:

If you, are you, do you feel like you were being pushed into military action against Iran by any of your advisors?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I have two groups of people. I have doves and I have hawks.

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah, you have some serious hawks.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I have some hawks. Yeah, John Bolton is absolutely a hawk. If it was up to him he'd take on the whole world at one time, okay? But that doesn't matter because I want both sides. You know, some people said, "Why did you put --" You know, I was against going into Iraq for years and years. And before it ever happened I was against going into Iraq. And some people said, "Oh I don't know." I was totally against and I was a private citizen. It never made sense to me. I was against going into the Middle East. Chuck, we've spent \$7 trillion in the Middle East right now.

CHUCK TODD:

Why is this our problem? This is a proxy war. Iran and Saudi Arabia are in a fight to the death out there.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah. You're right. You're right. And that's another thing I've done --

CHUCK TODD:

Candidate Trump, candidate Trump for years would have said, "Not our fight." Why are you involved?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Because of nuclear weapons. It has nothing to do with oil.

CHUCK TODD:

So the minute you get them to do nuclear weapons, you want out of the Middle East?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

That's all I care. I don't care about -- Well, we're going to protect Israel. But I have nothing to do, absolutely nothing -- and we're going to protect Saudi Arabia. Look, Saudi Arabia is buying \$400 billion worth of things for us. That's a very good thing.

CHUCK TODD:

You used to say we don't get anything in return --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

We are now.

CHUCK TODD:

-- for protecting Saudi Arabia.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

You know that this --

CHUCK TODD:

You feel like they're now paying for --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- this morning --

CHUCK TODD:

-- the American protection?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- I spoke to the Crown Prince, this morning. And we had a great conversation. I said, "This is a very expensive operation. You and the other nations that we're protecting have to pay."

CHUCK TODD:

Did you talk --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

And he said, "Yes."

CHUCK TODD:

Did you talk to him about the U.N. report about Jamal Khashoggi?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I did not because it really didn't come up in that discussion. I called about one reason.

CHUCK TODD:

I understand.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I called about one -- I didn't call about that. I called about one reason. There's a very expensive operation. Unlike President Obama and unlike everybody else, I'll say others too, not just President Obama. You've got to pay for it. We cannot, we, we just don't want to go in and, and protect the Middle East and protect Saudi Arabia and everyone else and not get reimbursed.

CHUCK TODD:

So this is why you're overruling Congress and, and letting all these weapon sales happen in Saudi Arabia?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Economic development and that. But economic development.

CHUCK TODD:

Never mind the humanitarian disaster --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

A million jobs.

CHUCK TODD:

-- that's taking place in Yemen?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

A million jobs -- No it's going to end. It's going to end. By the way, who's causing it though? If you look at it, Iran goes into Yemen. They start firing rockets at Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia has to protect themselves, Chuck. But it's, it's a million jobs and probably more. They buy massive amounts, \$150 billion worth of military equipment that, by the way, we use. We use that military equipment. And unlike other countries that don't have money and we have to subsidize everything. So Saudi Arabia is a big buyer of America product. That means something to me. It's a big producer of jobs.

CHUCK TODD:

It makes you overlook some of their bad behavior?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No.

CHUCK TODD:

I mean --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I don't like anybody's bad behavior.

CHUCK TODD:

Are you going to -- The United Nations said they'd like the United States to order the FBI to investigate Jamal Khashoggi's death and possibly MBS' --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I think it's, I think it's --

CHUCK TODD:

-- involvement in it. Will you allow the FBI to do that?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think it's been heavily investigated.

CHUCK TODD:

By who?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

By everybody. I mean --

CHUCK TODD:

By the FBI?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I've seen so many different reports.

CHUCK TODD:

What about the FBI?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Here's where I am, you ready?

CHUCK TODD:

Uh-huh.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Iran's killed many, many people a day. Other countries in the Middle East, this is a hostile place. This is a vicious, hostile place. If you're going to look at Saudi Arabia, look at Iran, look at other countries, I won't mention names, and take a look at what's happening. And then you go outside of the Middle East, and you take a look at what's happening with countries. Okay? And I only say they spend \$400 to \$450 billion over a period of time --

CHUCK TODD:

So --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- all money, all jobs, buying equipment --

CHUCK TODD:

That's the price. As long as they keep buying --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, no.

CHUCK TODD:

-- you'll overlook some of this behavior.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

But I'm not like a fool that says, "We don't want to do business with them." And by the way, if they don't do business with us, you know what they do? They'll do business with the Russians or with the Chinese. They will buy -- We make the best equipment in the world, but they will buy great equipment from Russia and from China. Chuck --

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah. Alright.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Take their money. Take their money, Chuck.

CHUCK TODD:

What would a candidate Trump have said about a president who, on his watch, had Iran shooting down a drone, a Venezuelan dictator thumbing his nose at you, Obamacare still on the books and no results yet on the border? The border getting tough --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, let's, let's take a look. Let's take a look --

CHUCK TODD:

I just say -- what would candidate Trump have said about that?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Okay, let's take a look. The border's doing great. Mexico's been fantastic. They've been trying to get a deal with Mexico for 45 years, right? So for 45 years, they couldn't get a deal. I got one in one day. I said, "We're going to put tariffs on and we're going to either have a deal or not. We agreed in one day." Mexico just moved 6,000 people to their southern border. 6,000 troops to their southern border. The border's working out well. And the wall is being built. I mean, a lot of people don't like to talk about it. We're building the wall. We will have 400 miles of wall built by the end of next year and that's hard because the Democrats don't want to approve it. We just beat them in a big lawsuit, as you know, in Washington, in D.C. We just beat them in a very big lawsuit.

CHUCK TODD:

But does it frustrate you that your border numbers are worse than Obama's?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, because the people are coming up because our economy is so good. They're pouring up because the economy is so good. Obama had a lousy economy. It was a dead economy.

CHUCK TODD:

Can I ask you about that?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Our, our economy is good.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me show you this chart. Do you see that chart?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah.

CHUCK TODD:

It's the unemployment rate from the peak of the recession.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Right.

CHUCK TODD:

Your economy is great. I'm not saying it's not great. But this recovery started and in the 28 months that you've been president and the last 28 months of Obama's presidency, he averaged more new jobs than your first 28 --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

That's because he started off with a, with such a bad base. I mean, he hit --

CHUCK TODD:

Ok. But it is -- is it not a continuation?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah, but Chuck, you have to understand, nobody was working. The whole place was a disaster. And I don't-- I'd never take that away.



CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

But it's very easy --

CHUCK TODD:

Alright.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- because when that turned around they pumped a tremendous amount of money into the economy. He also had a Federal Reserve person who kept the interest rates low. I don't. I don't have that privilege.

CHUCK TODD:

Sounds like you do now. Do you feel like you have --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, no, no.

CHUCK TODD:

-- do you feel you have sent --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

He raised them far too fast.

CHUCK TODD:

-- the threat --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

He raised them far too fast.

CHUCK TODD:

-- your threat to demote him, do you think that's had an impact?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I didn't ever threaten to demote him.

CHUCK TODD:

There's been some talk that you might demote him to the number two slot.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I, I, I'd be able to do that if I wanted but I haven't suggested that. I mean --

CHUCK TODD:

That's not a threat --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, it's not --

CHUCK TODD:

-- that's just a reminder that you can?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, no, I have the right to do that. But I haven't said that. What he's done is \$50 billion a month in quantitative tightening. That's ridiculous. What he's done is he raised interest rates too fast.

CHUCK TODD:

Do you worry it's going to hurt --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I've been proven right.

CHUCK TODD:

-- your reelection?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think the economy's so strong we're going to bull through it. But I'm not happy with his actions. No, I don't think he's done a good job. I think this, if he didn't raise rates Obama had very low rates. So Obama was playing with funny money. I wasn't. I'm playing with the real stuff.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me ask you this.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Wait, wait. Obama had somebody that kept the rates very low. I had somebody that raised the rates very rapidly. Too much. He made a mistake. That's been proven. And yet my economy is phenomenal. We have now the best economy, maybe in the history of our country. One -- just to finish off, when I took over, this country, the economy was ready to collapse. You take a look at the numbers. It was ready to collapse. And if I didn't win --

CHUCK TODD:

I just showed you the numbers. It was not ready to collapse.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No no, no, that's -- You showed me unemployment numbers.

CHUCK TODD:

That was unemployment. It was not ready --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Excuse me.

CHUCK TODD:

-- to collapse.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Excuse me. Take a look at your GDP, take a look at your jobs, take a look at your optimism.

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Take a look at all of the charts. When I took over from election day on, I mean, you show me one chart which, where I did --

CHUCK TODD:

It was the unemployment rate.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- well in that too, but I'm not --

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- talking about that. Take a look at some of the optimism charts and everything else. It went from 57 to 92. Nobody's ever seen anything that --

CHUCK TODD:

You're right. You're right.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- right after I won.

CHUCK TODD:

The optimism, you're right.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, optimism is a big part of success in business. Okay.

CHUCK TODD:

You were always hard on Obama. You thought he wasn't enough of a cheerleader.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

He was not a cheerleader.

CHUCK TODD:

If you could have one do over as president, what would it be?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, it would be personnel.

CHUCK TODD:

Who is it?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I would say if I had one do over, it would be, I would not have appointed Jeff Sessions to be attorney general. That would be my one --

CHUCK TODD:

That's your, in your mind, that's your worst mistake?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah, that was the biggest mistake.

CHUCK TODD:

Is Bill Barr your Roy Cohn?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

He should've never -- I think he's a very talented, very--

CHUCK TODD:

But do you know what I mean by that? You've always said --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, no, look --

CHUCK TODD:

"Where's my Roy Cohn?" Is he your Roy Cohn?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

You have to understand, Roy Cohn, but I had many, many lawyers. I mean, a lot of lawyers. Roy was one of them. He was a tough guy. Bill Barr is a -- First of all, Bill Barr --

CHUCK TODD:

Is he cut from the same cloth, do you think?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Bill Barr is a very, he's equally tough. He's a fine man. He's a fine man. The job he's done is incredible. He's brought sanity back. I think he's real -- I don't think, I know, he's respected. You know, he loves the Department of Justice. He saw what was happening. He has done a spectacular job. Now he's in the process of doing something and I stay away from it. I really, I stay away from it. But I think he feels that what's happened in this country was a very bad thing and very bad for our country.

CHUCK TODD:

I want to ask what's going down with the, these, the children in these migrant camps. The stories are horrible, Mr. President. You have children without their parents. You have kids taking care of kids.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah.

CHUCK TODD:

You've, you've read these reports. I know people are coming to you. I know you think this is the Democrats' problem.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, it --

CHUCK TODD:

Forget it.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

It was --

CHUCK TODD:

Why aren't you doing something?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Are you ready?

CHUCK TODD:

They're in terrible shape down there, Mr. President. Down in Homestead, Florida, that's where I grew up, it's, the conditions are terrible.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I agree. And it's been --

CHUCK TODD:

Do something.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- that way for a long time.

CHUCK TODD:

Do something.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

And President Obama built the cages. Remember when they said that I built them? And then it was 1914 --

CHUCK TODD:

Do two wrongs --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Excuse me.

CHUCK TODD:

-- make a right?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

It was 2014. Chuck, just listen for one second.

CHUCK TODD:

Ok. Alright.



PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Separation, President Obama, I took over separation. I'm the one that put it together. What's happened though are the cartels and all of these bad people, they're using the kids. They're, they're, it's almost like slavery.

CHUCK TODD:

But let's not punish the kids more.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No this has been happening --

CHUCK TODD:

Aren't you -- the kids are getting punished more.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

You're right. And this has been happening long before I got there. What we've done is we've created, we've, we've ended separation. You know, under President Obama you had separation. I was the one that ended it. Now I said one thing, when I ended it I said, "Here's what's going to happen. More families are going to come up." And that's what's happened. But they're really coming up for the economics. But once you ended the separation. But I ended separation. I inherited separation from President Obama. President Obama built, they call them jail cells. They were built --

CHUCK TODD:

Let's talk about what's happening now.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- by the Obama --

CHUCK TODD:

Your administration, and--

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I'm just telling you --

CHUCK TODD:

--you're not doing the recreation. You're not even schooling these kids anymore. You've gotten rid of all that stuff.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

We're doing a fantastic job under the circumstances. The Democrats aren't even approving giving us money. Where is the money? You know what? The Democrats are holding up the humanitarian aid.

CHUCK TODD:

It looks like these kids are being used as, as some sort of -- is it hostages? They're being held --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, they are being used.

CHUCK TODD:

-- hostage.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

They are being used by very bad people on the other side where they actually get --

CHUCK TODD:

But now they're politically being used.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

--paid, where money is being made using them because our laws are so bad. Because if you have a child, you have an advantage. You know that better than anybody. And what should happen, Chuck --

CHUCK TODD:

But why let the political debate hurt these children?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Chuck, we could --

CHUCK TODD:

They could be impacted for years.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

If the Democrats would change the asylum laws and the loopholes, which they refuse to do because they think it's good politics, everything would be solved immediately. But they refuse to do it. They refuse to do it.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me ask you this.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

You know what? If they change those, I say, I used to say 45 minutes. It's 15 minutes. If they changed asylum and if they changed loopholes everything on the border would be perfect.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me ask you this, why do you think Nancy Pelosi has held off her impeachment caucus?

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MEET THE PRESS

**This chaotic moment has one root cause: Trump's refusal to accept his loss**

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Because I think she feels that I will win much easier. I mean, I've been told that by many people.

CHUCK TODD:

Do you think impeachment's good politics for you?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think I win the election easier. But, you know, I'm not sure that I like having it. Look, I did nothing wrong. I was spied on. What they did to me was illegal. It was illegal on the other side. I did nothing wrong. So impeachment's a very unfair thing because nothing that I did was wrong. And if you look at the Mueller report, there was no collusion. This was all about collusion.

CHUCK TODD:

Nowhere in the Mueller report --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

This was about conspiracy.

CHUCK TODD:

By the way, Mr. President, you say no collusion. There is not a single, I've read this Mueller report, both, both parts of it --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Use the word collusion, or use --

CHUCK TODD:

-- there's not one place it says nothing happened.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Use the word collusion. Use the word conspiracy.

CHUCK TODD:

It never says no collusion.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I'll be honest with you, nobody even mentions Russia anymore since the Mueller report. They don't mention it, in all fairness.

CHUCK TODD:

I --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Nobody mentions Russia anymore. And it was about Russia. It was a hoax.

CHUCK TODD:

Let me ask you this --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Wait a minute.

CHUCK TODD:

-- during the campaign --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Wait, wait. We'll give you the time that you need.

CHUCK TODD:

What hoax it was?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

It was a hoax. The Russian hoax with me.

CHUCK TODD:

You don't believe it happened?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I had nothing to do --

CHUCK TODD:

You don't believe the Russians interfered --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

What they did with --

CHUCK TODD:

-- in our election?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- respect to the election is different. We're not talking about that. We're talking about --

CHUCK TODD:

The idea that you were conspiring.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- my campaign working is a hoax.

CHUCK TODD:

Fair enough.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Okay. Good.

CHUCK TODD:

But going back, on WikiLeaks, knowing now that that was stolen foreign material, do you regret using it?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I, I wouldn't have. But this was well-known. I think it was in papers. And, again, I'm going back now a long ways. But --

CHUCK TODD:

It was all rumored to be Russian stolen property.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Wait a minute. But --

CHUCK TODD:

So why'd you use it?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

--but how would I even know that? I made a speech. It was in there about WikiLeaks. I'm not a --

CHUCK TODD:

Right, but I'm saying knowing now --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- WikiLeaks person.

CHUCK TODD:

Knowing that they are a Russian intelligence --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Hey, Chuck.

CHUCK TODD:

-- asset --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Ok.

CHUCK TODD:

-- do you regret it?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Let me tell you-- WikiLeaks, et cetera, that's not my deal in life. You know, in other words, I don't know about WikiLeaks. It was a strange name. But there were stories about something WikiLeaks that they had information. And I say it in a joking manner at a speech. Joking. Everybody laughing. Everybody having a -- And they made it like it was serious. No, I don't want anything bad to happen to our country. Anything bad happens to this country, I will end it and I'll end it fast. I don't want any of that to happen.

CHUCK TODD:

There's one part in the Mueller report, your, your son, Donald Trump Jr., did cooperate and appear before the Senate Intelligence Committee.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Right. That's right.

CHUCK TODD:

In the Mueller report, it says that he did not voluntarily sit for an interview with Mueller's team. And then there's a redaction. A Grand Jury redaction. Did he involuntarily sit?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:



I don't know. I can only tell you this --

CHUCK TODD:

Is it possible he was --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- my son --

CHUCK TODD:

-- subpoenaed by the, --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I, I really don't know.

CHUCK TODD:

-- you don't know if he was subpoenaed?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

But let me tell you what I do know.

CHUCK TODD:

So did you not read the Mueller report?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Let me tell you, I read much of it.

CHUCK TODD:

The unredacted version or no?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I read -- No I didn't.

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I didn't. But let me just tell you --

CHUCK TODD:

So if he was subpoenaed --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

You know what I read? I read the --

CHUCK TODD:

-- if he was subpoenaed you wouldn't know?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- I read, I read the conclusion.

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, he was subpoenaed. Ultimately he was subpoenaed to sit before the Senate Intel --

CHUCK TODD:

But was he --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- and he did that.

CHUCK TODD:

Was he subpoenaed by Mr. Mueller?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I don't know. But I don't think so.

CHUCK TODD:

If he was subpoenaed was he going to appear before the Grand Jury or was he --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I don't know.

CHUCK TODD:

-- just going to plead the fifth?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I really don't know. But you can certainly ask him. I just --

CHUCK TODD:

But you don't know?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- don't know. It was, it was -- He sat, my son, he's been treated so unfairly. He sat for many, many hours before these committees. I think, my impression is, that Mueller took all of the information from the committees and he used that information. How much, how much can you talk about something? Remember the phone calls, the three phone calls? It was such a big deal. Three phone calls that were made to a special type number.

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Okay? And everybody said, "Oh, he called his father." That went on for a year. In other words, before this so-called meeting and after the meeting, "He called his father," the biggest story. Headlines all over the place. And then it turned out, and I give Mueller credit because Mueller was the one that found out through I guess the phone companies or whatever. Somebody found out, maybe through the FBI. Big investigation on who the calls were made. If they were made to me, it would have sounded like you, wait a minute, they turned out that it wasn't to me. It was to a real estate person and a NASCAR person. Two great people, have nothing to do with Russia. Have nothing to do. And you know what? People hardly even put the story in. My son was treated unfairly. My son, he spent 20 some odd hours and then he went back again.

CHUCK TODD:

But he never --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

He was a very innocent, young man and he was treated very badly.

CHUCK TODD:

You're going to see Vladimir Putin in a week.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Yes. I'm going to see many people.

CHUCK TODD:

Are you going to address him directly about interference in 2020?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I may.

CHUCK TODD:

Are you going to tell him --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I may.

CHUCK TODD:

-- not to do it?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I may if you'd like me to do it, I'll do that.

CHUCK TODD:

Because some -- Well, some people think that your answer --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

You know what? Here's what you do --

CHUCK TODD:

-- that your answer last week invited him to do it again.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Oh, that's not true. That's not true.

CHUCK TODD:

Are you going to tell him not to and what are the consequences?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

My answer last week was both. I said both. I'd do both. Except they didn't put it on. And when they did put it on people understood. But they didn't put it on because they put a different segment on. So they ask me a question. But when I said, "Yeah, I'd do both," people saw that in

the last version of it because the thing played like all weekend and on Friday. So it's just more fake news. Chuck, there's so much fake news. It would be so good if --

CHUCK TODD:

That's why I'm interviewing you one-on-one --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

That's fine. That's why I like --

CHUCK TODD:

Let me ask you this.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

That's why I like doing --

CHUCK TODD:

Do you think you've been --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

But I like live interviews better, you know why? Because you can't cut the answers.

CHUCK TODD:

Guess what? I'm not -- You're going to enjoy the fact that I'm not going to over-edit this interview. That I promise you.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Ok. Good.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Do you think you've been more successful in business or the presidency?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think, well, I can't be more successful in politics. I mean, I ran once and I'm president, right? So you have to say that's about -- there's nothing-- it's never happened before, right? So I'm one for one and I hope to be two for two. But my business has been a tremendous success. I actually said to the lawyers, "I'd like to show my financial statement. My financial statement's great." I built a great business --

CHUCK TODD:

You could release your tax returns any day you want.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I actually don't believe -- You don't learn from tax returns. And I'm under audit, Chuck. I've been saying it. I'm under audit. But you don't learn from tax returns.

CHUCK TODD:

I was under audit.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

But you would learn from a financial --

CHUCK TODD:

I had my tax returns.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- statement. And I would like to release it. I've built a great company. They like to -- For instance, banks. Banks. I could have borrowed from banks. But I didn't need to because I had money. I did things, in fact, a lot of people over the last couple of years were really surprised. "He paid all cash, he didn't use banks." I think I've been tremendously successful in business. I think I've been tremendously successful in show business with The Apprentice. I mean, I did one show and it was a great hit, as you know, from NBC.

CHUCK TODD:

Yes, sir.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

And I guess you have to say I've been really successful at politics.

CHUCK TODD:

The Republican Party has changed in your image. Do you think you caused that change or do you think the party was changing and you were the leader they selected?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think common sense caused it. You know, I'm about common sense. People say, "Are you conservative?" I guess I'm conservative, but I'm about common sense. I'm about we need borders. We're going to have borders. And we have strong borders. And by the way, Mexico has done a great job. It's slowed down so much. But we have an amazing economy and people want to come up. But it's slowed down so much. But I'm about borders. I'm about great health care. Obamacare is a disaster. I got rid of the individual mandate.

CHUCK TODD:

By the way, why is the economy doing so well if Obamacare is still law of the land? You had said in 2011 --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

We are managing --

CHUCK TODD:

-- "Obamacare's going to destroy the economy." Obamacare's still here and --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Because I've managed it great.

CHUCK TODD:

-- the economy's great.



PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I had a choice. I could have let it implode and killed it or I could have managed it --

CHUCK TODD:

You're still trying to kill it.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No, no.

CHUCK TODD:

Why are you still trying to kill it with the getting rid of preexisting -- If you -- This lawsuit that the Department of Justice joined, it could get rid of --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I am in favor --

CHUCK TODD:

-- coverage of preexisting conditions.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I am in favor of preexisting conditions. I am fighting --

CHUCK TODD:

So get rid -- so drop the lawsuit.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

We will --

CHUCK TODD:

So drop your aspect of the lawsuit.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

It has nothing to do with it. The lawsuit is one thing. We are going to put in a bill, total preexisting conditions. And the Republicans are in favor of preexisting conditions.

CHUCK TODD:

Mr. President, you had full Republican control and they couldn't pass anything.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Chuck, are you ready?

CHUCK TODD:

What makes you think you're going to get it done this time?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

We had a negative vote from John McCain. It was a surprising vote. But I got rid of the worst part of Obamacare which was the individual mandate.

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

We will always protect pre-existing conditions. And the reason Obamacare continues is my decision. Wait, I made a big decision.

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

We have a man named Azar, our secretary, he's fantastic man, Alex. A total pro. I could have managed Obamacare so it would have failed or I could have managed it the way we did so it's as good as it can be. Not great, but it's as good -- It's too expensive and the premiums are too high. I

had a decision to make. I could have politically killed Obamacare. I decided not to do it. But still it's not good. We're going to come up with great health care if we win the House, the Senate and the presidency.

CHUCK TODD:

Are you prepared to lose?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No. Probably not. Probably not.

CHUCK TODD:

Very hon -- I mean, you joke --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

It would be much better, it would be much better if I said, "Yeah."

CHUCK TODD:

You're, you're --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

It would be much easier for me to say, "Oh yes." No I'm probably not too prepared to lose. I don't like losing. I haven't lost very much in my life.

CHUCK TODD:

You didn't like the fact that you lost the popular vote. That bothered you, didn't it?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I think it was a -- I mean, I'll say something that, again, is controversial. There were a lot of votes cast that I don't believe. I look at California.

CHUCK TODD:

Mr. President.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Excuse me.

CHUCK TODD:

But that's a --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Take a look at Judicial Watch, take a look at their settlement where California admitted to a million votes. They admitted to a million votes.

CHUCK TODD:

A million votes of what?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Take a look at judicial --

CHUCK TODD:

What are you talking about?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Judicial Watch made a settlement. There was, there was much --

CHUCK TODD:

About what?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- there was much illegal voting. But let me tell you about popular vote. Do you have a second?

CHUCK TODD:

Yes, because you were, you were a big fan of it --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

There are two --

CHUCK TODD:

-- until you weren't

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I like popular vote.

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think I do better with a popular vote. But I didn't campaign for the popular vote.

CHUCK TODD:

You're right. I --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

You didn't see me campaigning in California or New York. If I -- if it was up to the popular vote, I would have been I think even better. I won 306 to 223, which was a lot in the Electoral College. But it's like you're training for the 100-yard dash versus the mile.

CHUCK TODD:

Yep. You're, you're totally right.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

It's totally different.

CHUCK TODD:

If it's the popular vote, you campaign differently.--

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I went to Wisconsin. --

CHUCK TODD:

-- I don't disagree.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- She forgot. I went to Michigan. She didn't go to Michigan enough. I won Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania. I won places that she didn't do a good job. What can I tell you? No, maybe I did a great job. You know, I never get credit for that. They always say she was a lousy candidate. I actually think that Hillary Clinton was a great candidate. She was very smart. She was very tough. She was ruthless and vicious.

CHUCK TODD:

You'd rather run against her again, wouldn't you?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No.

CHUCK TODD:

You only talked about her in your announcement speech.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No.

CHUCK TODD:

You spent a lot of time talking about her.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

No. I would actually rather run against Biden.

CHUCK TODD:

Than Hillary.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think that would be my preference.

CHUCK TODD:

Why?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Sleepy Joe. He's sleepy. She was not sleepy. Let me just tell you something, the Electoral College is tougher for a Republican to win than the popular vote. At least me. I feel that I go to three places. I went to 19 or 21 states. I went to Maine four times because I wanted to get one. And I did get it. And that's the beauty of the Electoral College.

CHUCK TODD:

Right.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

You know, I've been a proponent of the other sometimes and I change. But I will tell you, the Electoral College brings you to many of the states in this country.

CHUCK TODD:

You, you have joked about a third term. You've joked about these things.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I only joke.

CHUCK TODD:

Okay.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I joke. And I say "Watch, I will drive Chuck Todd crazy."

CHUCK TODD:

You will, you will accept the re -- Ok. You will --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Yes, there won't be a third term.

CHUCK TODD:

You will accept the results?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

100%. Sure.

CHUCK TODD:

And you will accept whatever happens in 2020.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Sure.

CHUCK TODD:

You lose, you'll be like -- you're not going to like it but you walk out.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

In fact, I said at a speech recently, I said, "Watch. We'll drive the media crazy. Let's go for a third time and then a fourth." And some of the media said, "He's going to do it."



CHUCK TODD:

Speaking of driving people crazy, when you were asked about Mike Pence in 2024 and you, and you, and you paused a minute about endorsing him as your successor, that got a lot of people going, "Is Mike Pence 100% on your ticket in 2020?"

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, look, look -- 100%, yes.

CHUCK TODD:

100%?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Oh yeah.

CHUCK TODD:

There is no wiggle room?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

He's been, he's been a terrific vice president. He's my friend and --

CHUCK TODD:

Ok.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- a lot of things. No. Zero. Zero.

CHUCK TODD:

So why'd you hesitate in endorsing him in being, succeeding you?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Because it was a surprise question.

CHUCK TODD:

You hadn't thought about it?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I mean, you know, I'm not even thinking of it. It's so far out. I mean, It's so far out. That would be the only reason. Now what happens in 2024? I don't know that Mike is going to run. I don't know who's running or anything else. I will say this, I think it's a tremendous embarrassment to Joe Biden that Obama has not, that President Obama, I like to say that because it's respect for the office and respect for him.

CHUCK TODD:

Do you speak to any of the former presidents?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Yes.

CHUCK TODD:

Who's the last one you did?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Well, I speak to Bush.

CHUCK TODD:

With President Bush?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I speak to Jimmy Carter.

CHUCK TODD:

You do? What about President Obama?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I have not spoken to him --

CHUCK TODD:

But George W. Bush, you do?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- pretty much from the beginning.

CHUCK TODD:

And Jimmy Carter?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I have spoken to Bush, I have spoken to Jimmy Carter, yes.

CHUCK TODD:

Do you get --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I like Jimmy Carter. You know, Jimmy Carter's oftentimes come to my defense. I don't necessarily agree with the way he ran things and that's okay. And he understands that and so do I. But he came to my defense on numerous occasions. And he thinks that I was treated the worst of anybody he's ever seen by the press.

CHUCK TODD:

During --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I don't think he's including you.

CHUCK TODD:

Every new season, every new season of The Apprentice, you had something new to roll out. What's your big new idea for your re-election?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think that the economy has tremendous upward potential despite the fact that we're doing really well. I think when we really unleash some of the things --

CHUCK TODD:

But what's your new idea?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- that we're going to do --

CHUCK TODD:

What is the new big idea?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I also think that health care is going to be very important for me. I will tell you. If we win the House, the Senate and the presidency I will get tremendous health care because --

CHUCK TODD:

Do you think Democrats --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

-- Obamacare is a disaster.

CHUCK TODD:

Do you think Democrats won the House because of health care?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I think they won because of preexisting condition.

CHUCK TODD:

Yeah.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Nothing to do with me. Because if you know almost every race that I campaigned for somebody they won. But I couldn't devote too much time to the House, there's too many people. But if you look at some of the Congressmen that I did go for and went for, they won like in Kentucky, et cetera, et cetera.

CHUCK TODD:

So your one new idea is going to be health care?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Just one thing. Ohio governor, he was behind, great guy.

CHUCK TODD:

He was.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Mike won. Georgia, President Obama was there. Oprah was there. Michelle Obama was there. It was going to be a big celebration. She was the star of the party. I went there for Brian. Brian Kemp. Brian Kemp won. Florida, Ron DeSantis --

CHUCK TODD

He ran as you.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP

He was going to lose. He was low in the polls. I endorsed him. He went up 60 points after I endorsed him. Ron won. And he's been a great governor of Florida. You know, I've always heard

that an endorsement is nice to have but it doesn't mean anything. I'm driving people up 30%, 40%, 50%, 60%.

CHUCK TODD:

Well, when you show up, you bring a lot of people.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

We bring something very good.

CHUCK TODD:

I'm curious, did you see Jon Stewart's pretty passionate plea on behalf of 9/11 responders in front of Congress?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I was very impressed, yes.

CHUCK TODD:

Are you going to -- He's frustrated with Mitch McConnell. He feels like Mitch McConnell's the guy standing in the way of this bill. You're a New Yorker first. I know that in you. I've got to think Jon Stewart got to you.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Yeah, well --

CHUCK TODD:

Are you going to tell Mitch McConnell to --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I liked what Jon Stewart did. I actually did. And I actually have a meeting on that subject next week. So we'll see what happens.

CHUCK TODD:

So you think you will --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

You know it's a very complicated subject for a lot of reasons.

CHUCK TODD:

I understand that it is. But --

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

But I have a meeting --

CHUCK TODD:

-- do you think that Jon Stewart had a point that Congress hadn't done enough?

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

I have a meeting with that, on that subject with -- Well, when you say Congress, billions of dollars has been passed.

CHUCK TODD:

I understand that.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Okay, billions.

CHUCK TODD:

Right. But the fund was about to run out.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Memorials have been, have been built.

CHUCK TODD:

That's right.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Tremendous amounts of money. But there are still people that are sick. I have a meeting on it next week.

CHUCK TODD:

All right, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Thank you.

CHUCK TODD:

I appreciate the time.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP:

Thank you very much.

CHUCK TODD:

Thank you, sir. 



Chuck Todd



Chuck Todd is moderator of "[Meet The Press](#)" and NBC News' political director.

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# EXHIBIT 5

# The Washington Post

*Democracy Dies in Darkness*

## President Trump has a massive conflict of interest on Saudi Arabia

The kingdom has been spending money on his hotels since he took office.

By **Noah Bookbinder**

Noah Bookbinder is executive director of Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington and a former federal corruption prosecutor.

Oct. 18, 2018 at 4:26 p.m. CDT

Leaders around the world have called for quick action in response to allegations that Saudi Arabia ordered and carried out the torture and killing of Washington Post contributing columnist and permanent U.S. resident Jamal Khashoggi in Turkey. And yet the president of the United States has defended the Saudi royal family, stressed the need for caution and process, and refused to consider curbing arms sales to Saudi Arabia.

President Trump's subdued reaction raises the question of why he has, so far, handled the news so differently compared with other world leaders. We cannot help but consider one particular answer: that his approach to Saudi Arabia is influenced by his significant business dealings with that country.

Apparently aware of the growing concerns that conflicts of interest may be affecting his thinking on this crisis, the president tweeted this week that he has "no financial interests in Saudi Arabia." That may be technically true. While he previously had significant interests in companies set up to potentially develop properties in Saudi Arabia, those companies were shut down when he assumed the presidency.

Crucially, though, he and his businesses have continued to benefit substantially from Saudi customers, including the government of Saudi Arabia. Press reports have indicated that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has recently paid for rooms and meals at the Trump hotels in Washington and Chicago. In 2017, Saudi lobbyists spent \$270,000 to reserve rooms at Trump's hotel in Washington. The kingdom itself paid \$4.5 million in 2001 to purchase a floor of Trump World Tower and continues to pay tens of thousands in annual common charges to Trump businesses for that property (the total of which could be up to \$5.7 million since 2001, according to one estimate). In the past year, as bookings fell overall, Trump's hotels in New York and Chicago reported a significant uptick in bookings from Saudi Arabia. And a major factor in a recent increase in revenue for the Trump International Hotel and Tower in Manhattan was that Saudis accompanying the crown prince during a recent visit stayed there, as The Washington Post has reported.

Trump said at a campaign rally in 2015 about Saudi Arabia: "I get along great with all of them. They buy apartments from me. They spend \$40 million, \$50 million. Am I supposed to dislike them? I like them very much."

What's notable about that statement is not just the president's description of his significant business ties to Saudi Arabia but his stark admission that he is inclined to look favorably on those who give him business.

Case 1:20-cv-06625-PAC Document 30-3 Filed 01/18/21 Page 88 of 89

Now it appears that the government of Saudi Arabia is listening – and as a result, significant business to the president these past two years, and its investment may well be paying off. Instead of condemning Saudi Arabia’s apparent involvement in Khashoggi’s death, Trump has been previewing potential defenses for the Saudi government. “It sounded to me like maybe these could have been rogue killers,” he said Monday, after a phone call with Saudi King Salman. “I mean, who knows? We’re going to try getting to the bottom of it very soon, but his was a flat denial. ”

Trump’s decisions about how to handle this delicate and crucial situation should never be influenced by his business interests. Sadly, we have every reason to believe they may be.

When the president decided to retain his business interests, my watchdog organization was particularly concerned that his personal financial interests and business ties could affect his decision-making on taxes, environmental regulations, foreign policy and a slew of other issues. That is why we have been deeply involved in two major lawsuits against Trump for violating the emoluments clauses of the Constitution, which prohibit any president from receiving gifts and payments from foreign and domestic governments. This past week has supplied the strongest evidence yet that our concerns were well founded.

At a time of global crisis like the one we find ourselves in currently, we need to know the president is looking out for our interests. Right now, we don’t.

**Read more:**

[How President Trump could use the White House to enrich himself and his family](#)

[Trump hasn’t solved any of his conflicts of interest](#)

[Trump leases his D.C. hotel from a federal agency he’s now in charge of](#)

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# EXHIBIT 6



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# World of Influence: A guide to Trump's foreign business interests



By Anna Massoglia and Karl Evers-Hillstrom | June 4, 2019 5:58 pm



(MANDEL NGAN/AFP/Getty Images)

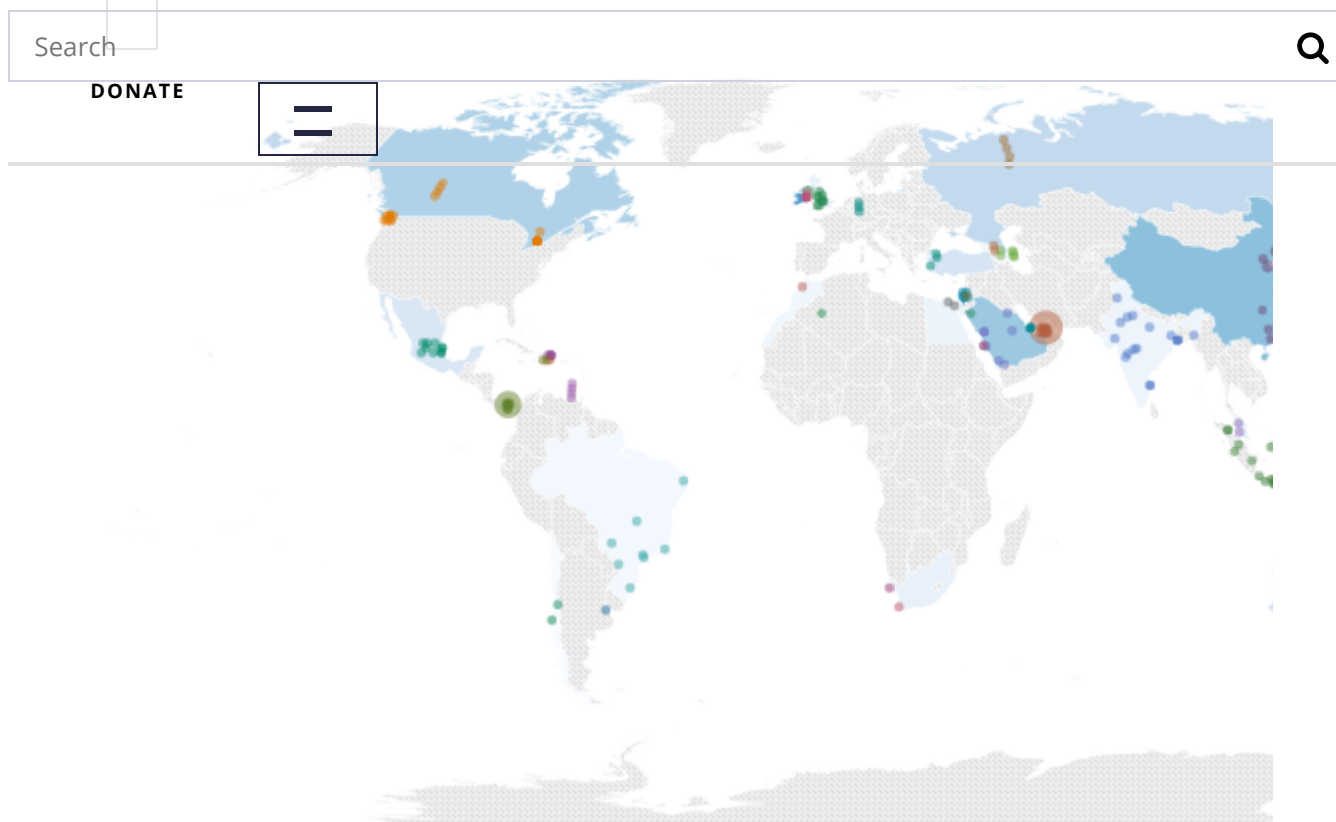
Two years into his presidency, Donald Trump continues to make money from properties and licensing deals in nearly two dozen countries around the world, fanning the flames of concerns that the Trump administration is subject to unprecedented levels of foreign influence.

Trump continued to hold more than \$130 million in foreign assets in a revocable trust as his second year in office came to a close, according to OpenSecrets' analysis of the president's most recent annual personal financial disclosure released by the Office of Government Ethics last month.

Trump's business entanglements continue to leave him with positions, assets, trademarks and other business interests in more than 30 countries.



## Trump's Foreign Business Interests



Source: OpenSecrets analysis of 2017-2018 data from personal finance forms, FARA disclosures & trademark records from the World Intellectual Property Organization.

 A Flourish map

Annual disclosure forms only require assets held at the end of the reporting period to be disclosed and require only minimal documentation of transactions. Income and property values are also often listed in wide ranges so the total amount may, in actuality, be much higher or lower.

When it comes to foreign properties, the Trump Organization often charges a licensing fee to put the Trump name on the building and in some cases agrees to manage the property in exchange for a cut of the profits. This business model allows Trump to put his name on as many hotels and golf courses as possible while mitigating risk.

Trump transferred control of the family-owned company to his adult children, who he said would pursue “no new deals” during his time in the Oval Office. Although the Trump Organization ended some proposed deals around the world,

it has opened several new properties since 2017, with several providing direct income to Trump.

Search *Check out Trump's foreign interests in the countries below:*



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Argentina | Azerbaijan | Bermuda | Brazil | Canada | China | Dominican Republic | Georgia | India | Indonesia | Ireland | Israel | Mexico | Panama | Philippines | Qatar | Russia | Saudi Arabia | Scotland | South Korea | St. Martin | St. Vincent | Turkey | United Arab Emirates | Uruguay |

Trump's sprawling web of foreign properties and investments, which includes some projects completed during his presidency or still under development, reveals a litany of apparent efforts by foreign business leaders and governments to gain influence with the leader of the free world. Some of the developers behind Trump-branded projects are under scrutiny for exploitative business practices. In many of these countries, developers work in close proximity to political power and wealthy businessmen have outsized influence with the government.

In addition to foreign-based business interests, Trump properties in the U.S. have also raked in considerable sums from foreign clientele. Foreign actors looking to influence U.S. policy in several cases have coupled foreign influence efforts with visits to Trump properties.

The Trump Organization pledged to contribute all profits from foreign governments to the U.S. Treasury. In February, the company announced it had contributed \$191,538 in foreign profits to the U.S. Treasury. Details of how that number is calculated have been kept under wraps and the comparably small sum donated to the Treasury raise questions about what is and isn't included in that number. For example, Saudi Arabia's government alone spent more at Trump International Hotel in the four months after Trump won the presidency than the entire Trump Organization donated to cover foreign profits either year.

Several groups have filed lawsuits alleging Trump has violated the Emoluments Clause, a section of the Constitution that restricts members of the government from receiving gifts or other benefits from foreign states or leaders without permission from Congress.





# Foreign Influence and the Trump Administration

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Foreign influence spending in 2017 and 2018 from countries Trump has business deals in or has trademarks in. Based on records accessed through OpenSecrets' Foreign Lobby Watch tool.

## United States Foreign Influence Spending

- 1 South Korea \$83,845,383
- 2 Israel \$63,546,052
- 3 Ireland \$52,231,552
- 4 China \$37,583,568
- 5 United Arab Emirates \$35,724,593
- 6 Saudi Arabia \$33,787,778
- 7 Canada \$28,426,407
- 8 Qatar \$24,111,003
- 9 Russia \$22,757,543
- 10 Australia \$16,705,847

 A Flourish data visualization

*Here is a look at president's major international business interests listed alphabetically.*

## Argentina

Trump has decades of history with Argentine President Mauricio Macri, including a hot and cold business relationship.

Macri's father, Franco, reportedly tried to buy a majority share in one of Trump's Manhattan real estate projects in 1979 and ended up losing tens of millions when the deal fell through.

According to a book written by Franco Macri, Trump threw a tantrum after losing a golf game to his son in the heat of those negotiations and broke his rival's golf clubs one by one. When Macri was kidnapped and held for ransom in 1991, his father briefly speculated that Trump may have been the "true intellectual author" of the crime.

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Trump made his "debut" in South America's real estate market in 2012 with a project in Uruguay reportedly financed by Argentine investors. Trump Organization spokespeople said that their goal was to "bring the Trump brand to Buenos Aires."

In Trump's first call with Macri following the election in November 2016, Trump reportedly asked the Argentine leader to "deal with the permitting issues that are currently holding up" development of a building in Buenos Aires, a claim spokespeople for the former business partners turned world leaders have denied.

Trump's business partner on the project, Felipe Yaryura, attended Trump's election night victory celebration at Trump tower in New York City.

## Azerbaijan

Trump International Hotel & Tower Baku never opened and likely never will, as the empty building was badly damaged in an April 2018 fire.

That did not, however, stop Trump from reportedly raking in millions of dollars from the hotel.

The 33-story tower stands out, both as a unique structure planted in a marooned downtown neighborhood and as perhaps one of the Trump Organization's most controversy-laden projects.

Developed with relatives of Azerbaijan Transportation Minister Ziya Mammadov — who a U.S. diplomat described as "notoriously corrupt even for Azerbaijan" — the project linked the Trump Organization to a family with ties to the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, which the Trump administration recently labeled a foreign terrorist organization.

Construction on the building began in 2008, and the Trump Organization began work on the property in 2012 to transform it into a luxury hotel. As usual, Trump was not financially invested in the property, instead licensing his name and agreeing to manage the property when it was completed, for a fee. Still, the Trump Organization was heavily involved in the design of the hotel, with Ivanka Trump personally overseeing its development.

The Trump Organization's working relationship with the Mammadovs, including Azerbaijan parliament member Elton Mammadov, raised the eyebrows of members of Congress. According to leaked diplomatic cables, the Mammadovs built up significant clout in Azerbaijan, leveraging their positions in government to lucrative contracts for their businesses. The New Yorker reported that the Mammadovs paid for initial construction of the building with giant piles of cash, one of which totaled \$2 million.

The Trump Organization did not deny that the Mammadovs engaged in corrupt activities, instead arguing that the company was not liable to U.S. anti-corruption laws as it did not have a financial stake in the project. The company told the New Yorker it did not learn of the Mammadovs' possible ties to the Revolutionary Guard until 2015.

Trump reportedly earned up to \$2.8 million in management fees from the hotel between 2012 and 2016. But as a luxury hotel located in an underdeveloped section of downtown Baku, the project may have been doomed from the start. The Trump Organization canceled its licensing deal for the hotel in December 2016, shortly after the project stalled before Trump took office due to an apparent lack of interest.

Azerbaijan is considered a hotbed for money laundering, with members of the government's ruling class engaging in a multi-billion dollar money laundering scheme. Some of that money went to shell companies, then found its way to an obscure U.S. lobbying firm that only had a few clients.

The Azerbaijan government stepped up its foreign lobbying and influence spending in 2017, spending \$926,587 and enlisting the once-powerful Podesta Group to promote the country's rich oil opportunities and strong relationship with Israel, among other things.

Just before the former Trump-branded tower burned in April 2018, Azerbaijan hired Ballard Partners, run by former Trump fundraiser Brian Ballard, primarily to help promote the country's centennial celebration. Following the registration, a number of congressmen, including Robert Aderholt, Bill Shuster, Steve Cohen and George Brown took to the floor to enter their congratulations to Azerbaijan into the Congressional Record.

## Bermuda

Trump's ownership of a Bermuda-based company called D.J. Aerospace Ltd remains shrouded in mystery.

The absence of corporate income tax in Bermuda has led some to speculate it may be used as an offshore account, but it isn't clear if the company or account are still active.

The name suggests it may have been linked to a Boeing 727 luxury jet Trump owned with a tail number beginning 'VP-B', a code indicating Bermuda registration.

New York City Department of Finance records show that Trump recorded a security interest in the Boeing 727 jet in 1997 but that plane had been sold to a company called Westar Aviation Services in 2011.

## Brazil

The Trump Organization's involvement in a luxury Rio de Janeiro hotel ostensibly came to an abrupt end after it was revealed the project may have had dubious beginnings.

The Trump Organization withdrew its licensing and management agreement with the 13-story luxury hotel in December 2016. The move came just weeks after a Brazilian federal prosecutor opened a criminal investigation into the hotel and several other real estate projects centering on suspicious investments from state-owned pension funds.

The investigation also looked into Trump Towers Rio, a project to build five office towers proposed in 2012 but never started. Trump cancelled his involvement in

that project in January 2017.



Since then, Brazilian prosecutors rolled out charges against several of Trump's former business partners for diverting public pension funds into the projects in exchange for bribes and illegal commissions. The Trump Organization, which was not involved in funding the project, has not been implicated in the scheme.

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Paulo Figueiredo Filho, the developer and owner of the luxury hotel project, was among those charged. Figueiredo, the grandson of a former military dictator, previously touted his ties to Trump and said he wasn't worried about Trump's run for president upsetting the hotel's brand. In an August 2015 interview with the New York Times, he expressed confidence that Trump's run would increase exposure of the project.

According to Brazilian news outlets, Brazil has issued an Interpol "red notice" in an attempt to arrest Figueiredo, who currently lives in the U.S. It doesn't appear that attempt worked. According to Florida property records, Figueiredo currently owns a home in Weston under his business Olive-Fig Tree International, which was still active as of April 2019.

In a separate investigation, another former Trump partner living in the U.S., Arthur César de Menezes Soares Filho, was charged in an alleged bribery scheme related to Rio de Janeiro's bid to host the 2016 Olympic Games. Prosecutors reportedly could not reach an agreement with the U.S. to extradite the Miami resident or freeze his bank accounts as of June 2017. U.S. prosecutors in December 2017 reportedly subpoenaed the Brazilian businessman, known by his nickname "King George," for financial documents relating to corruption with the 2016 Olympics.

## Canada

While Trump's focus as president was south of the border, his sons were busy putting a bow on his business deal north of the border.

Donald Trump Jr. and Eric Trump celebrated the opening of Trump International Hotel and Tower Vancouver in February 2017. The 63-story tower was funded by wealthy Malaysian developer Tiah Joo Kim, who inked a licensing deal with Trump

that netted the president up to \$5 million during his first year in office. Trump reported making \$213,946 to manage the property last year.

The reaction from the Canadian government was mixed. Local officials expressed opposition to the Trump name being on the building following Trump's controversial rhetoric during the 2016 Republican primaries. On the other hand,

Tourism Vancouver promoted the Trump's Vancouver hotel before it was finished and again in 2017 during its grand opening, noting that the city needed more hotel rooms during the summer season due to high occupancy rates. The tourism agency, which is partially funded by the government of British Columbia and lists itself as a government of a foreign country in FARA filings, contributed to Canada's sky-high \$27 million in foreign influence spending in the U.S. in 2017.

Joo Kim attended Trump's inauguration and took a picture with the newly elected president, but he soon began to fret about the Trump brand's staying power, calling Trump's comments on Muslims, Mexicans and women "extremely stressful." Joo Kim added that he was "locked in" to the licensing deal.

Trump's other licensing deal in Canada ended in June 2017. Workers removed the "TRUMP" sign from the hotel formerly known as Trump Tower Toronto after the building's new owner JCF Capital ended the licensing and management agreement. The financially-troubled tower was opened in 2012 and fell into disrepair almost immediately. An Ontario court placed the hotel into receivership in November 2016 after its owner, Russian-born Toronto investor Alex Shnaider, failed to make debt payments.

By all accounts, the hotel was a disaster. As investors lost substantial sums of money on the project, Trump walked away with millions, thanks to the Trump Organization's risk-free licensing and management agreement. Trump in 2007 said he was invested in the property, but by 2011, the Trump Organization changed its tune, saying it did not pump money into the hotel.

The hotel has come under scrutiny as a way for Russian actors to funnel money to Trump. In May 2017, the Wall Street Journal reported that Shnaider funded the tower using assets he obtained by selling his stake in a Ukrainian steel mill for an estimated \$850 million in 2010. Russian state-owned bank VEB, which was sanctioned by the U.S. in 2014, reportedly financed the sale.

In July 2018, the Financial Times reported that Shnaider previously made a secret \$10 million payment to Moscow-based “introducers” representing the Kremlin’s interests to help facilitate the sale. The deal eventually provided money for Trump himself through his licensing and management deal. Trump reported making \$558,004 in management fees in his 2017 financial disclosure.

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## China

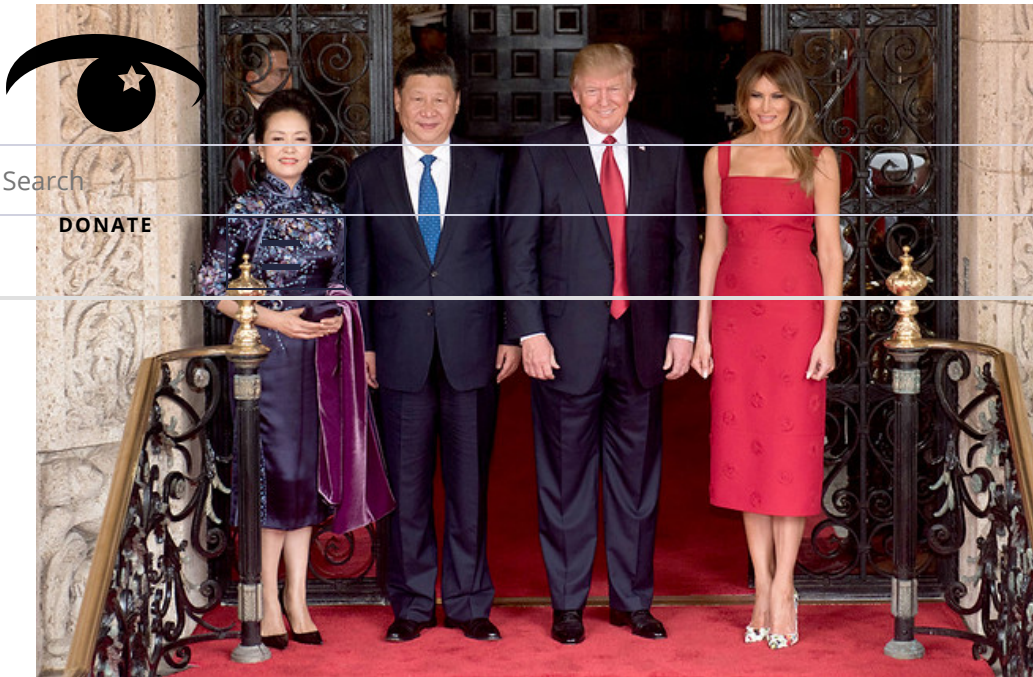
Trump’s seemingly perpetual battle with China has been riddled with apparent attempts by the Chinese government to influence the president.

Although it’s difficult to ascertain whether these attempts have been successful, they demonstrate that foreign governments will use whatever avenues they can in attempts to influence U.S. policy amid crucial negotiations and foreign policy decisions.

Right off the bat, China did its best to appease the incoming president, approving a “TRUMP” trademark for Trump’s construction-related services in China just days after Trump’s election night win. Although it might not seem like much, the trademark had proven to be elusive one for Trump. He unsuccessfully filed for the trademark in December 2006, then unsuccessfully appealed to Chinese courts.

The trademark was one of 77 approved Chinese trademarks Trump owned as of February 2017. One month later, China granted preliminary approval for another 38 trademarks in a hasty move described as “weird” by one Hong Kong intellectual property consultant.





President Donald Trump and First Lady Melania Trump pose for a photo with Chinese President Xi Jinping and his wife, Mrs. Peng Liyuan, Thursday, April 6, 2017, at the entrance of Mar-a-Lago in Palm Beach, Fl. (Official White Photo by D. Myles Cullen)

Still, Trump did not maintain an equable relationship with China going into his presidency.

On Dec. 2, 2016, Trump broke prior protocol with a phone call to Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen. Trump followed that up by musing that the U.S. might not be bound by its longstanding position that Taiwan is part of “one China,” further antagonizing China.

The call may not have been happenstance. Former Senator Bob Dole worked behind the scenes as a foreign agent lobbying for the government of Taiwan, arranging contacts for high-level Taiwanese officials with Trump campaign staff and facilitating a Taiwanese delegation’s attendance at the Republican convention when Trump was nominated.

Multiple reports indicate Trump was considering developing a series of luxury hotels and resorts in Taiwan around that time. Shortly before Trump’s election, a businesswoman with a letter stating that she is a “sales ambassador” for Trump’s businesses named Chen Siting, who is also known as Charlyne Chen, reportedly



met with the mayor of the northern Taiwanese city of Taoyuan about a “major investment” in building luxury hotels as part of the island’s new airport development. Reportedly giving a speech at a Friends of Trump banquet in central Taipei on November 1, 2016, she claimed that Trump’s business was interested in investing in Taiwan and that his son, Eric, would visit later that year.

The month before Trump’s election, Anne-Marie Donoghue, the global director of transient sales & Asia for Trump, hotels posted a photo from a visit to Taiwan noting that she was in Taipei for work with the message “Work trip but it has been so fun!!!” The Trump Organization denied making visits to Taiwan for development purposes.

Following a February 2017 call with China’s leader Xi Jinping, Trump appears to have reversed course on Taiwan, agreeing to honor the “one China” policy. No further developments on prospective Trump business interests in Taiwan have been reported since that time.

As Trump’s term continued, it became evident that Ivanka Trump would also benefit from China’s apparent attempts to tempt the Trump administration. On April 6, 2017, the same night Ivanka Trump dined with Jinping at Mar-A-Lago, the Chinese government granted her approval for three new trademarks to sell products related to jewelry, bags and spa services.

Along with trade, Chinese telecoms ZTE and Huawei emerged as major focal points in the foreign policy battle between the U.S. and China. U.S. officials consider both companies to be controlled by the Chinese government and thus a potential national security threat. The Trump administration in April 2018 banned American firms from selling parts to ZTE for seven years, dealing a crippling blow to the Chinese firm.

That ban didn’t last long. In what was considered a quid-pro-quo by some and a coincidence by others, Trump in May 2018 tweeted he would find a way to save ZTE shortly after China approved seven new trademarks for Ivanka Trump’s various business measures. The deal also came shortly after reports that a state-owned Chinese company would provide \$500 million for a Trump-licensed project in Indonesia.

Trump delivered on his promise, striking a deal with ZTE last June to lift crippling sanctions in exchange for a \$1 billion fine and a restructuring of the company's leadership. The decision was widely panned by Trump's advisers and Republican allies in Congress. The Senate swiftly voted to block the deal, arguing that ZTE is a national security threat, but both chambers of Congress later agreed to drop an effort to derail the deal. Trump followed up in July 2018 by lifting the ban on ZTE just three months after it was enforced.

In November 2018, Ivanka Trump received approval for another 16 new Chinese trademarks ranging from voting machines to sausage casing to handbags. Amid heated trade talks with the U.S. in January 2019, China approved five new trademarks for Ivanka Trump.


However, the relationship between Trump and Beijing has since turned hostile, further provoked by an escalating trade war between the two powers, as well as the U.S.' attempt to extradite Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou from Canada over charges of financial fraud. Since working out a deal with ZTE, Trump has paved the way to ban Chinese telecommunications firms from taking part in the next-generation 5G wireless network in the U.S.

ZTE, for its part, has directly lobbied the Trump administration and Congress, spending a company record \$3.8 million in 2018 and hiring a host of former members including Connie Mack, Norm Coleman and Joe Lieberman, who argued he isn't actually lobbying for ZTE despite formally registering as a lobbyist for the telecom giant.

Huawei has spent less on domestic lobbying — \$165,000 last year — but the embattled company in March hired several U.S. firms as foreign agents to shape its image in the states.

Trump's efforts to limit the companies came as Trump indicated they could be a bargaining chip in a potential U.S.-China trade deal.

At least 49 of Trump's Chinese trademarks are up in 2020, potentially giving China a bargaining chip of its own as it negotiates with the Trump administration. Additionally, the state-owned Industrial and Commercial Bank of China has a lease with Trump Tower in New York City worth an estimated \$1.5 million per year, slated to end in October 2019. Trump's New York property on 1290 Avenue

of the Americas, partially indebted to the state-owned Bank of China, earned Trump more than \$5 million last year. In China, the business of attempting to sell access to Trump through Mar-a-Lago memberships and straw campaign contributions has become a new industry of sorts, the Washington Post reported. 

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**Dominican Republic**

Trump has tested the limits of his “no new deals” pledge in the Dominican Republic.

The Trump Farallon Estates at Cap Cana were initially envisioned as a series of luxury seaside villas serving as an anchor for the larger Cap Cana project described as “Disneyland for Chavistas,” a reference to adherents of former Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez’s political doctrine in which a powerful centralized state implements socialist policies.

Trump personally appeared to launch the development in 2007 but sued Cap Cana and developers tied to the project in 2012 after reportedly missing around \$6 million in licensing fees the Trump organization was owed. Settlement of the lawsuit resulted in two luxury ocean view properties in the Dominican Republic gifted to Trump.

The project appeared to go dormant and the deal seemed all but dead.

In April 2015, shortly before Trump made his infamous escalator descent into the gilded lobby of the eponymous Trump Tower to officially announce his candidacy for President, the Trump Organization sold one property in the Dominican Republic to a shell company that appears to be tied to Venezuelans reportedly closely linked to Venezuela’s Socialist Party and Diosdado Cabello, the second most powerful man in President Nicolás Maduro’s government. Cabello is currently under U.S. sanctions for alleged drug trafficking and money laundering.

Financial disclosures indicate that the Trump entity controlling the property earned \$3.2 million from land sales last year. Earlier promotional materials showed an asking price of \$3.5 million for the property.

Then in February 2017, weeks after Trump’s inauguration, Capa Cana executives announced that Eric Trump traveled to tour the project.

“We are excited to be working with the Trump Organization in the future phases of the project,” they said of the decade-old development. A Trump Organization attorney described the deal as “never dead” and that discussions were “very preliminary” despite the years of inactivity.

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Georgia



In March 2011, Trump signed a deal with Giorgi Ramishvili, chairman of Georgian investment firm Silk Road Group, to license his name on two major Georgia-based projects. At an estimated cost of \$300 million, the partners planned to build a tower in the capital city of Tbilisi and a complex in the coastal city Batumi. The plan came together thanks to Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili, who had formed a friendship with Trump and urged him to invest in the former Soviet Union state. Trump flew to Georgia in 2012 to officially announce Trump Tower Batumi.

In 2005, Kazakhstan-based BTA Bank loaned hundreds of millions of dollars to Silk Road Group to help develop Georgia. The New Yorker reported that the deal was mired in allegations of money laundering and fraud, which Silk Road Group denied. After BTA Bank’s former chairman stole billions from the bank in 2009, BTA Bank hired Trump’s longtime personal lawyer, Michael Cohen, and a firm owned by Trump business partner Felix Sater to help recover the stolen money. The bank later alleged that Sater helped launder stolen money through a potential Trump Tower Moscow.

The Trump tower Batumi project hit a roadblock later in 2012 when Saakashvili’s party lost parliamentary elections and he fled the country in fear of retribution from his political opponents. Incoming Prime Minister Bidzina Ivanishvili criticized the Georgian government’s promotion of the Trump Tower Batumi project, noting that Trump wasn’t actually investing in the development of the property.

Shortly following Trump’s election, Bloomberg reported that there was revived interest in Georgia over the high-rise project. But in January 2017, the Trump Organization pulled out of the project. The company declined to provide a reason why the deal fell through, though Silk Road Group said the president did so to avoid a conflict of interest, despite a Trump attorney’s earlier claim that the move

was “normal housekeeping” and “not part of a strategy to reduce potential conflicts of interests.”

Following a Reuters report that Silk Road Group was planning to build a fake Trump Tower, an investment group backed by Ivanishvili in November 2017 announced it would take over the Batumi project.

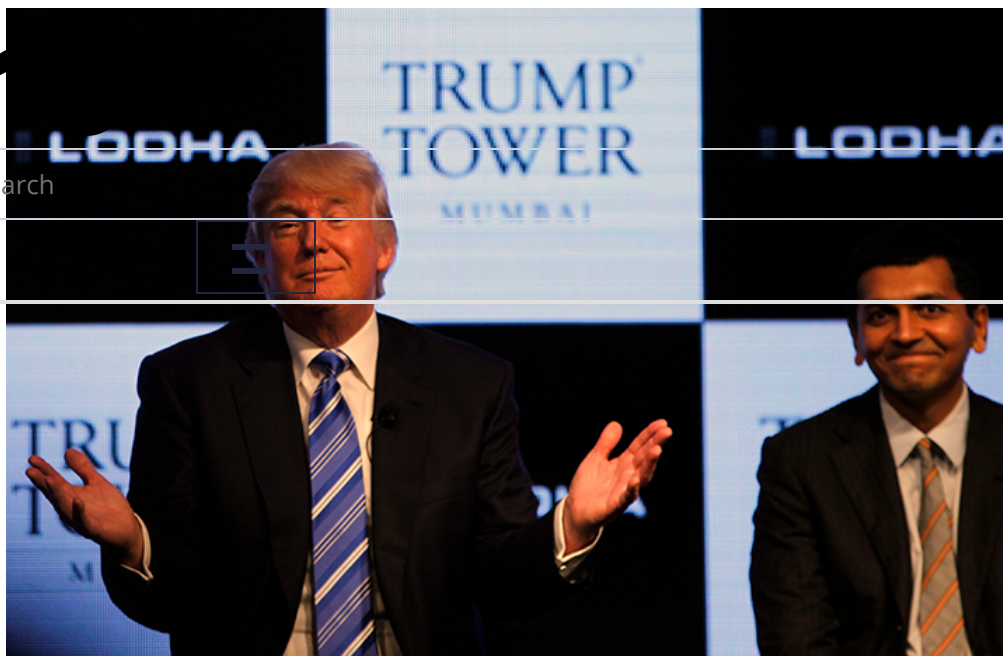
## India

The Trump Organization covets perhaps no other foreign country more than India, where it has begun developing several real estate projects. The Trump Organization’s successes in India have coincided largely with Trump’s November 2016 election win.

Trump Tower Mumbai has easily been the most fruitful licensing deal for Trump so far. The 78-story tower, expected to open in June 2019, netted the president between \$1 million and \$5 in upfront license fees in 2017. Developed by Lodha Group, a massive real estate company founded by prominent Indian politician Mangal Lodha, the luxurious hotel reportedly plans to offer a private jet service for its residents. Promotional materials for the building heavily featured Trump, even playing up the fact that he was president of the U.S.

The Mumbai project wasn’t always a sure thing. Lodha Group subsidiaries were reportedly under investigation by several Indian agencies on allegations of money laundering and tax fraud, according to a report from The New Republic.

Things began to change following India Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s rise to power in 2014. In August 2014, Trump flew to Mumbai to promote the tower, all while heaping praise on the new prime minister. In his first visit to the Trump White House in June 2017, Modi reminisced over Trump’s kind comments made during his 2014 trip to India.



Donald Trump and the Lodha Group's Abhishek Lodha launch Trump Tower Mumbai in 2014 in Mumbai, India. (Photo by Kunal Patil/Hindustan Times via Getty Images)

An internal memo obtained by The New Republic found that the Lodha Group had subsidiaries that were likely acting as shell companies for money laundering activities. But investigations into Lodha Group stalled as of March 2017, reportedly hampered by Modi's political appointees. The litany of investigations into Lodha Group were closed as of 2018.

Trump and Modi continued to praise each other through Trump's first term, and the Trump Organization was eager to take advantage of the strong relationship between world leaders. The Trump Organization's luxury hotels in Pune reportedly drew millions of dollars in real estate sales during Donald Trump Jr.'s February 2018 trip to India. Then, he hosted a dinner with investors and planned to host a separate foreign policy speech alongside Modi. Trump Jr. cancelled the foreign policy speech the next day amid criticism.

Just after his election victory, Trump personally met with Indian property developers, including Kalpesh Mehta, with whom the Trump Organization would do plenty of business over the course of Trump's presidency.

In what can only be considered a “new foreign deal,” Trump Jr. launched a series of potential projects with Mehta in October 2017, including Trump Tower Kolkata, a high-rise hotel that netted Trump between \$100,001 and \$1 million last year under a licensing agreement. They launched a project in January 2018 to build another luxury development, this time in the northern district of Gurgaon.

Trump recently congratulated Modi for his May 2019 election win and said he looked forward to working together. But even India hasn’t been able to avoid Trump’s aggressive trade policy. The Trump administration in June 2019 announced it would subject India to tariffs it has long been exempt from.

## Indonesia

Indonesian billionaire Hary Tanoesoedibjo had big plans. He and Trump were going to build a massive resort and golf course in the secluded forests of West Java and a new Trump tower on the island of Bali. Then, wielding a connection with Trump, Tanoesoedibjo would run for president of Indonesia.

Within months of Trump’s June 2015 presidential campaign launch, Trump and Tanoesoedibjo announced licensing deals for two luxury resort properties in Indonesia.

But only one of the two men would be elected president. And one of the projects appears to be in doubt too. Nearly two years after a large Bali hotel was demolished to make way for the Trump-branded property, construction has reportedly stalled.

Instead, the West Java resort and “smart city” has become the main focus for Tanoesoedibjo’s real estate company MNC Land. One of the project’s contractors, South Korean firm Posco E&C, is partially-owned by Saudi Arabia’s Public Investment Fund. Despite delays on the property, it has earned Trump \$256,249 since he took office.

The project is reportedly backed in part by a Chinese state-owned enterprise meant to fund a theme park on the West Java property, a report Tanoesoedibjo denies. The city’s theme park is being built by a Chinese state-owned firm.



Following his failed vice presidential run in 2014, Tanoesoedibjo backed Indonesia President Joko Widodo's successful re-election campaign. Tanoesoedibjo has since boasted about his ties to Widodo, partnering with state anti-drug efforts and stating he and the president agree that growth in the property and tourism sectors should be the nation's top priority.

The Indonesian government has offered several olive branches to Tanoesoedibjo and Trump, constructing a toll road that will dramatically reduce the travel time to Trump's Bali property from the airport in Jakarta. An Indonesian state-owned firm began construction on a second toll road to Trump's secluded West Java property.

## Ireland

Trump's June 2019 trip to Ireland appeared to be in doubt. The Trump Administration wanted to meet at Trump's golf course in Doonbeg. The Irish government wasn't thrilled with that idea.

Trump was reportedly threatening to cancel the trip when Irish officials expressed concern over spending taxpayer dollars to meet at Trump's business. After some negotiations, the visit was confirmed. In a compromise, Trump would meet with Irish officials at an Irish airport, then spend a few days at Trump International Golf Links Doonbeg, which generated \$14.5 million in revenue last year, up from \$12.5 million in 2017.

First opened in 2002, the golf course and resort was purchased by Trump in 2014. Irish Finance Minister Michael Noonan rolled out a red carpet during a welcoming party for Trump, who was then a businessman and not a political candidate.

That wasn't the first time, or last time, that the Irish government boosted Trump's property in the name of promoting tourism. In 2014, Ireland Prime Minister Leo Varadkar, minister for tourism at the time, received a surprise phone call from Trump asking that he help block a planning permit for a windfarm to be built in the area. Varadkar said he called the local city council to plead Trump's case and the permit was denied. He later corrected his statement, saying he only contacted Ireland's tourism authority about the matter.





President Donald Trump and Irish Prime Minister Leo Varadkar participate in a one on one bilateral meeting June 5, 2019, at Shannon Airport in Shannon, Ireland. (Official White House Photo by Shealah Craighead)

In 2019, amid a sea of countries competing for Trump's attention, Varadkar is the only foreign leader to secure substantive annual meetings with the U.S. president. The two discussed Brexit and trade during their May 2019 discussion, with Trump threatening to "tariff a lot of their products coming in because the European Union treats us very, very unfairly."

Tourism is one of the largest contributors to Ireland's economy, making it a top priority for the government. Tourism Ireland, funded by the Irish government to promote the country to the rest of the world, has spent nearly \$31 million under FARA since 2017, helping make Ireland the top foreign influence spender since Trump took office.

The agency sponsored an October 2017 gala held at Trump's golf course, prompting raised eyebrows from government watchdogs that the government was providing a gift to the Trump administration.

In a decision welcomed by Irish tourism bodies, Trump approved Ireland-based Norwegian Air International's low-cost airline route between the U.S. and Ireland after taking office. The airline had long been unable to get the Obama

administration to approve U.S. travel, despite personal requests from the prime minister, until it was finally granted preliminary approval in December 2016.

The decision was met by lawsuits from labor unions that said it threatened U.S. jobs. Labor unions, along with more than 100 members of Congress, unsuccessfully lobbied Trump to revoke the permit. Trump swiftly approved U.S.-Ireland routes, though Norwegian Air has since cancelled some of these routes, stating that it expected its low prices would do more to stimulate demand.

## Israel

Trump Drinks Israel LLC brought in between \$50,000 and \$100,000 in royalties, according to July 2015 disclosure. The Trump Organization arm that handled Trump Vodka's sales in Israel hasn't reported revenue since 2015 but was reportedly seen stocked in Israel.

Elite Tower, formerly known as Trump Plaza Tower and Trump Elite Tower, in Tel Aviv, Israel, was previously planned for development but Trump sold the property for roughly \$80 million in 2007.

## Mexico

Trump has been vocal about building a wall between the U.S. and Mexico. There was, however, a time when Trump explored expanding his business empire into the country — a venture that ended in foreclosure, lawsuits and allegations of fraud.

Trump reportedly collected \$32.5 million from customers before giving up on the project.

In 2013, Trump settled a lawsuit with more than 100 condo-buyers who lost millions of dollars paid to Trump Ocean Resort for deposits on condos in a development that was foreclosed upon before construction even began. Trump has since complained multiple times that the Mexican legal system is "corrupt."



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Issues related to the failed development came back up when a Mexican government official filed a criminal complaint against Trump shortly before his election alleging that the then-presidential candidate had defrauded investors and committed tax fraud. The complaint was later expanded to include allegations that Trump violated Mexican law by seeking to buy property too close to the U.S.-Mexico border.

Investigators at Mexico's federal attorneys office probed the charge into 2018.

Mexico, alongside Indonesia, is one of two countries in the World Intellectual Property Organization where Trump currently has trademark applications pending.

In February 2016, the same day that Trump railed against Mexico at a campaign rally in South Carolina, a law firm in Mexico City filed trademark applications on behalf of the Trump Organization.

The trademarks could open the door to a broad range of business operations from construction and hotels to real estate financial services. Trump Organization General Counsel Alan Garten told AP that the trademarks are "laying the ground for possible new ventures and keeping other people from using Trump's name."

In October 2016, weeks before Trump's election victory, the Mexican government's patent and trademark administration body approved one of those trademarks. And weeks after Trump's inauguration, the Mexican government approved three more.

## **Panama**

Trump's first international hotel venture, the Trump Ocean Club International Hotel & Tower, evolved into quite the moneymaker following its 2011 opening.

Trump reported raking in \$810,795 to manage the Panama City property in 2017 and anywhere from \$100,001 to \$1,000,000 to license the Trump name.

But last year, disaster struck. After a down year in which investors reported losing substantial sums of money on their rooms, the building's majority owner terminated the Trump Organization's management agreement and stripped the hotel of its "Trump" name.

The Trump Organization fought the decision in Panamanian court but ultimately lost. In a last ditch effort, the organization sent a letter to Panamanian President Juan Carlos Varela requesting his "influence" to reverse the decision. The letter suggested the Panamanian government could be liable for wrongdoing, raising questions from government ethics experts on whether the letter was really a veiled threat by the U.S. government.

Varela rejected the request, saying he didn't believe President Trump was behind the letter, but declared that the barrier between Trump and his private interests is "a wall that must be built."

The property was later rebranded as a JW Marriott. Trump reported making just \$3,016 from the hotel's management agreement in 2018 and didn't report any income from the licensing agreement.

In June 2019, the new owners of the Panama City hotel went even further, suing the Trump Organization in Manhattan federal court over claims that the company defrauded Panamanian tax authorities to dodge taxes. The Trump Organization called the claim "completely false."

Funded in part by Alexandre Ventura Nogueira, a Brazilian car salesman with apparent links to convicted criminals, the Trump-branded project had dubious beginnings. Three years after getting involved with the Trump-branded project, Nogueira fled Panama amid state charges of fraud and forgery and cheating allegations by Trump Ocean Club investors. Nogueira later told Reuters that eastern Europeans with links to organized crime invested in the property. Trump did not have a stake in the building's development, only in managing the property and licensing his brand, but Ivanka Trump played a leading role in developing and marketing the 70-foot tower.



The former Trump Ocean Club International Hotel and Tower (center) was rebranded in 2018. (Mario Roberto Durán Ortiz/Wikipedia)

In November 2007, just before the financial crisis gobbled up Bear Stearns, the investment bank underwrote a \$220 million bond to fund the project.

Following the Panama Papers leak that exposed countless tax shelters in Panama, the government hired New York consulting firm Bellwether Strategies as a foreign agent to rehabilitate its image. Panama spent a whopping \$3.9 million in 2017, with most coming from the Tourism Authority of Panama.

## Philippines

Philippine investment group Century Properties says Trump Tower Philippines is the “definitive landmark” of Manila, the capital city.

The licensing deal was lucrative for Trump, earning between \$1 million and \$5 million in 2018 as the hotel began its marketing push. It might have been ever sweeter for Jose E. B. Antonio, chairman and CEO of Century Properties. The real estate mogul was appointed special envoy to the U.S. by Filipino President Rodrigo Duterte just one day after Trump was elected president. Century Properties' stocks on the Philippine Stock Exchange rose 20 percent on the news of Trump's win.

Although the Trump Organization claimed that it directed foreign business partners to stop invoking Trump in marketing and promotional materials following his election, Trump's image and words continued to be prominently displayed in advertising for the Manila property months after Trump's election.

Trump and Duterte got off to a strong start. In what came as a surprise to some of his aides, Trump congratulated the Philippine president for taking a hard line on illegal drugs. Duterte has encouraged extrajudicial killings of drug users and dealers, as well as political opponents, leading to the deaths of thousands.

The Philippine Embassy hosted its June 2018 independence day celebration at Trump's D.C. hotel as Duterte unsuccessfully pushed for a trade deal with the U.S. Although Duterte has blamed the U.S. for the Philippines' economic woes, he has refused to criticize Trump.

## **Qatar**

Trump's relationship with the Qatari government has been subject to some turbulence.

For years prior to Trump's 2016 presidential run, Qatar's state-owned carrier Qatar Airways had a "corporate campus" at Trump Tower in New York. But mere months after the country dropped more than \$6 million for an apartment in a Trump-owned building, Trump accused Qatar of being "a funder of terrorism at a very high level." A year later, however, Qatar's leader was warmly welcomed by the president at the White House.

Trump's financial disclosure forms list four companies that may be related to prospective business interests in Qatar. All four, including an entity called THC



Qatar Hotel Manager, were established in late 2014, but there is no activity or income reported for these companies.

While Trump initially held a role with all of the companies, his financial disclosures indicate then candidate Trump left his final position with THC Hotel Manager Member Corp weeks before the 2016 election. The entities were dissolved in January 2017, according to Trump's 2018 disclosure.

Qatar has spent heavily on foreign influence campaigns, shelling out \$18 million over the last two years. The firm has hired Trump-connected Ballard Partners and former attorney general John Ashcroft, along with several other U.S. firms.

In June 2019, the Scotsman reported that the U.S. government had spend more than 1 million pounds on rooms at five-star London hotels tied to the ruling family of Qatar during Trump's visits to the U.K.

## Russia

"I have nothing to do with Russia. I never did."

Trump's campaign trail claims that he never did business in Russia were swiftly undermined by a mountain of evidence, much of which was well known and widely reported, that he pursued several business deals in Russia over the last three decades.

As early as his 1987 *Art of the Deal* book, Trump expressed dreams of "building a large luxury hotel across the street from the Kremlin in partnership with the Soviet government."

Trump closed his first Russia-based deal in 1996, announcing a plan to invest \$250 million in Russian real estate projects, including a "super-luxury residential tower." In the mid-2000s, Trump explored building a luxury tower with his business partner Felix Sater. In 2008, Donald Trump Jr. reportedly spoke openly about the high number of Russian businessmen invested in Trump's New York properties, but detailed the difficulty of developing a property in Russia, calling it a "scary place."

Trump's proposed deals ultimately fell through. But the Trump Organization was discouraged. In 2013, Trump announced at the Miss Universe pageant in Moscow that he was in talks with Russian companies to build a skyscraper.

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"TRUMP TOWER MOSCOW is next," Trump tweeted following the event.

That effort began to materialize during Trump's presidential run, according to special counsel Robert Mueller's 448-page report on Russian interference in the 2016 election. Sater and Trump's lawyer Michael Cohen communicated with Russian officials about the project, and in November 2015 they sent a letter of intent with a Moscow investor laying out details of the multi-million dollar deal.

The Trump Organization reportedly planned to give a \$50 million penthouse at Trump Tower Moscow to Russian President Vladimir Putin as Trump's businesses negotiated the luxury real estate development around the 2016 election.

Trump's attorney, Rudy Giuliani, said plans for the Trump Tower in Moscow were "active" into November 2016.

Trump repeatedly denied exploring a project in Moscow, as did Cohen, who pleaded guilty in November 2018 to lying to Congress.

Though he was never able to complete a building in Russia, Trump has profited from wealthy Russian businessmen with ties to the authoritarian government. Reuters reported in 2017 that members of the Russian elite had invested nearly \$100 million in Trump-branded properties in Florida.

Additionally, Trump sold a Palm Beach property in 2008 to Russian billionaire Dmitry Rybolovlev for \$95 million, more than twice the roughly \$41 million he for which purchased it just four years earlier, according to a Panama Papers filing. The Rybolovlevs reportedly never lived at the estate. During a July 2017 press conference in which he urged Russia to find Hillary Clinton's missing emails, Trump identified the sale as the only deal with Russian individuals he had made.

In 2017, golf writer James Dodson told Boston radio station WBUR that Eric Trump talked about the Trump Organizations' source of funding for its golf courses during a 2013 interview at Trump's Charlotte course. Following an inquiry about which banks were funding golf courses during the recession, Eric Trump



reportedly told Dodson "Well, we don't rely on American banks. We have all the fun. It's we need out of Russia." Eric Trump later denied telling Dodson this, calling it "fake news."

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Trump's lengthy history with influential Russian businessmen and politicians during his time as a private citizen came under intense scrutiny during the 2016 election as Russian actors attempted to help Trump win.

Mueller's report details attempts from Russian actors to infiltrate the Trump campaign, representing brazen attempts at foreign influence. Highlighting this kind of direct influence is the 2016 Trump Tower meeting in which Russian actors directly appealed, unsuccessfully, to the Trump campaign to oppose Putin's least favorite bill, the Magnitsky Act.

Russian actors continued to discuss sanctions as the Trump campaign became the Trump transition team. Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak spoke with Trump national security adviser Michael Flynn about the penalties invoked by the Obama administration, a conversation about which Flynn lied to the FBI. The Justice Department in May 2019 asked that Flynn's wiretapped conversation with Kislyak remain confidential.

Russian actors have also pursued more traditional forms of foreign influence. After the Trump administration imposed sanctions on businesses owned by Putin ally Oleg Deripaska, the chairman of one of Deripaska's groups hired a former senator to lobby for a deal to have sanctions removed. In January 2019, the Trump administration lifted the sanctions on some of Deripaska's companies after the company underwent an ownership shakeup. Millions of dollars in Deripaska's shares would be transferred to his children under the deal.

The Russian government granted Trump six trademarks in 2016. Four of the Russian trademarks were approved for renewal on Nov. 8, 2016, the day after Trump's election, including a trademark for Trump Tower.

## **Saudi Arabia**

"Saudi Arabia, I get along with all of them. They buy apartments from me. They spend \$40 million, \$50 million," Trump said at a 2016 campaign rally, "Am I supposed to dislike them?"

The same day he spoke favorably about Saudi spending on his properties, Trump incorporated multiple new limited-liability companies that appear to be related to potentially expanding his vast business empire into Jeddah, the second largest city in Saudi Arabia. With names like THC Jeddah Hotel Manager Member Corp and DT Jeddah Technical Services Advisor LLC, records of the companies reflect a naming convention similar to those for other Trump branding of prospective business deals.

While no development has been publicly divulged, financial disclosures to the Office of Government Ethics indicate Trump held a position with at least two of the companies through Nov. 15, 2016, days after his election.

Trump Organization attorney Alan Garten described the move canceling the projects as “normal housekeeping” due to developers falling short on fulfilling their end of the licensing deal.

Saudi foreign agents and lobbyists came under fire for spending more than \$270,000 to put up a group of veterans at Trump International Hotel. The vets were lobbying for changes to the Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act (JASTA) — legislation that enabled 9/11 lawsuits against the government of Saudi Arabia — after those veterans claimed they did not know their trip had been organized and financed by the Government of Saudi Arabia.



President Donald Trump and First Lady Melania Trump join King Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud of Saudi Arabia, and the President of Egypt, Abdel Fattah Al Sisi, Sunday, May 21, 2017, to participate in the inaugural opening of the Global Center for Combating Extremist Ideology. (Official White House Photo by Shealah

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A single “last minute” visit by the Saudi Crown Prince drove Trump International Hotel in Manhattan’s room revenue up 13 percent in the first three months of 2018 following a two-year decline. A 2018 report to Trump Hotel Chicago investors on foreign and U.S. customers broken down by country originally obtained by the Washington Post showed a 169 percent increase in Saudi Arabia-based patrons since 2016. Planning documents, agendas and conversations with organizers indicate that the Saudi government paid for more than 500 nights in Trump hotel rooms.

Trump campaign officials and other close Trump allies have joined in the Saudi’s lobbying efforts.

Sonoran Policy Group — a lobbying firm founded by Trump campaign advisor Robert Stryk that has also employed the Trump campaign’s national field director, a Trump campaign state chief of staff and the former deputy to ex-National Security Adviser Michael Flynn — emerged as one of the highest-paid firms since Trump took office.

Nearly all of the \$6 million in reported receipts from foreign interests paying Sonoran to influence the United States during Trump’s first year in office came from a single \$5.4 million lump payment from the Saudi Ministry of the Interior for “broad advisory services.” The lump payment was under a contract that was reportedly terminated shortly after it was signed, resulting in the Trump ally-heavy firm essentially being paid over \$5 million to “do nothing.”

One firm that has continued to represent Saudi interests, Brownstein Hyatt Farber Schreck, has touted its team’s “significant relationships” with the incoming Trump administration.

One Trump appointee was simultaneously paid to work as an active Saudi foreign agent. Richard Hohlt registered as a foreign agent of the Saudi Arabian government weeks before the 2016 presidential election — and just months

before President Trump appointed him to the Commission on White House Fellowships.

Under a contract paying out \$430,000 for “advice on legislative and public affairs strategies,” Hohit continued raking in hundreds of thousands of dollars for representing the interests of Saudi Arabia while serving on Trump’s commission.

Appointees like Hohit are not considered full-time employees and thus are exempt from President Trump’s executive order imposing a lifetime ban on executive branch appointees engaging in foreign lobbying or other work that would require registration under FARA. That opens the door for other foreign agents — including Ballard Partners’ Justin Sayfie, who represents the interests of governments of Turkey and Qatar while serving as a Trump White House appointee — to concurrently hold U.S. government appointments while working to promote the interests of a foreign government under current ethics laws.

## Scotland

Perhaps no other foreign country provides more money to Trump than Scotland, where the president owns two golf courses that brought in up to \$27 million in revenue last year.

But as the president takes in millions, his Scotland courses rack up massive losses. Trump’s Aberdeen golf club lost more than 1 million pounds in 2017 and grew its debt to nearly 11 million pounds, according to the most recent financial filings with UK government agency Companies House. Trump’s Turnberry course fared even worse, losing more than 3 million pounds.

The losses continue as Trump uses his position as president to promote his own courses. During a July 2018 visit to Scotland, Trump promoted Trump Turnberry, tweeting, “The weather is beautiful, and this place is incredible!” In an earlier meeting with British Prime Minister Theresa May, Trump brought up his golf course when recounting his prediction that “Brexit would happen.”

In another promotional effort, Trump plugged his Aberdeen golf course in a March 2019 tweet, calling it “perhaps the greatest golf course anywhere in the world!”

As Trump has golfed in Scotland, U.S., taxpayers have footed the bill. Trump's businesses made tens of thousands of dollars during the President's trip to his Scotland golf club and resort properties with U.S. taxpayer paying the tab, according to federal government spending records for payments routed through **Donald J. Trump Turnberry Ltd Golf Recreation Scotland**. As the parent company to Trump's Aberdeen golf club, it continues to be wholly owned by President Trump through a New York-based state grantor trust named the Donald J. Trump Revocable Trust. Trump's two days of golf at Trump Turnberry cost taxpayers an estimated \$3 million, according to an analysis by the Huffington Post.

Scotland has done its part to help Trump businesses. A May 2019 report from the Scotsman found that the Scottish Northern Lighthouse Board, run by government-appointed individuals, has been charging the Trump Organization just 100 pounds per month to a lease a lighthouse that serves as the centerpiece of Trump's Turnberry property. The deal was struck in August 2015, months after Trump declared his run for president.

That's not to say everything has been pleasant between Trump and Scotland. As a private citizen, Trump spent years battling the Scotland government over offshore wind farms proposed to be built along his Aberdeenshire golf course, describing wind turbines as "bird killing" and "asinine." Trump continued his anti-wind farm campaign as president-elect, reportedly telling British politician Nigel Farage to oppose offshore wind turbines that would spoil the view at the course.

Trump's objection went all the way to the U.K. Supreme Court in 2014, where judges rejected Trump's case against the Scottish government. The wind farm began generating power in July 2018 and Scottish judges ordered Trump to pay legal fees over his unsuccessful court case in March.

Trump has shelled out hundreds of millions of dollars on Scottish investments since his first purchase in 2006. The Trump Organization recently announced plans to spend roughly \$200 million in cash — nearly 2 years of the business' entire revenue — on 500 new houses plus swaths of commercial and leisure buildings on the estate that houses his Scotland golf course.

## South Korea

Through his trust, Trump has retained complete ownership of Trump Korean Properties LLC and a 59 percent stake in Trump Korea LLC in partnership with Daewoo Engineering & Construction Ltd, according to his most recent annual financial disclosure covering 2018.

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Trump made a deal with Daewoo Engineering & Construction Ltd, which previously worked on Trump World Tower in Manhattan, to develop a Trump World in South Korea dating back to 1999.

Although the properties' opening was delayed due to bankruptcy and embezzlement charges against the chair of the business partner's parent company that resulted in a 10-year prison sentence, Trump World opened in 2007. The state-run Korea Development Bank held a 50.75 percent controlling stake in Daewoo Engineering & Construction.

Trump World is made up of six properties in Busan, Daegu and Seoul.

### St. Martin

Promises to not make new deals expanding Trump's business empire have not stopped attempts to sell off parts of it. Trump's luxurious beachside estate in St. Martin, Château Des Palmiers, is currently listed at a \$16.9 million asking price by Sotheby's International Realty.

The real estate company has attempted to use Trump's ties to the property as a selling point, posting on Instagram on Nov. 9, 2016, just one day after Trump won the election, "You'll feel almost presidential when you stay in Château Des Palmiers."

Typically used by Trump as a rental property, records show the beachfront estate was listed for around \$20 million when Trump purchased it. Trump's financial disclosure through April 2016 valued the property at up to \$50 million but the estate dropped in value to less than \$25 million in Trump's most recent financial disclosure. His May 2019 disclosure reveals less than \$200 in income from the property last year, a significant drop from the prior year when it raked in between \$100,001 and \$1 million in rent.

In 2018, during Trump's second year in office, the beachside mansion on a nearly five-acre compound was made available for rent on AirBNB. The \$17 million palm-tree-studded mansion was reportedly listed at prices exceeding \$21,000 per night.

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It is not clear whether the Trump Organization's pledge to donate profits from foreign governments to the U.S. Treasury applies to AirBNB rentals of the St.

Martin property since Rental Escapes, a Montreal-based luxury rental company, was reportedly handling the property's AirBNB bookings.

## St. Vincent

In 2003, Trump launched an effort to manage a resort casino and golf course in Canouan, a small island located in the Caribbean nation St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Trump partnered with luxury developer Antonio Saladino, who previously signed a lease with the St. Vincent government to develop the island, on the project.

Ultimately, the resort faltered and Saladino sold half of the project to Irish billionaire Dermot Desmond in 2010. Under new ownership, the Trump Organization appeared to be left out of future plans.

Trump in 2017 reported earning \$3 million from his Canouan property through land sales. His St. Vincent properties were not listed on his most recent financial disclosure.

## Turkey

In December 2015, amidst a heated presidential primary, Trump said in a radio interview he had "a little conflict of interest" in Turkey. He was referring to Trump Towers Istanbul, a pair of Trump-licensed conjoined towers that received a warm welcome from Turkish President Tayyip Erdoğan in 2012. The tower's licensing deal has provided Trump with a steady source of income, raking in between \$100,001 and \$1,000,000 last year.

When relations between Trump and Turkish President Tayyip Erdoğan went sour, however, Turkish officials targeted Trump's businesses.



Following Trump's proposal to temporarily ban Muslims from entering the U.S., Erdoğan called for Trump's name to be removed from the Trump Towers Istanbul hotel.

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As the U.S. imposed sanctions on Turkey over its imprisonment of American pastor Andrew Brunson last year, a Turkish opposition political party member suggested the Turkish government retaliate by seizing Trump's hotel. The official quickly retracted the comment after learning that the hotel wasn't actually managed by Trump and that the hotel simply licensed the Trump name.

The Turkish government-linked Turkey-US Business Council held a 2017 conference at Trump International Hotel, just blocks from the White House in Washington, D.C. Amid negotiations over Brunson, the Turkey-U.S. Business Council abruptly delayed its 2018 conference set to take place, once again, at Trump's Washington hotel.

Each of the group's last two major conferences were held at Trump's hotel. On both occasions, among the distinguished speakers was Erdoğan's son-in-law Berat Albayrak, the Turkish finance minister. Albayrak met with Trump in the Oval Office on the second day of the 2019 conference and told Turkish media outlets he got positive feedback from Trump about Turkey's need for Russian S-400 missiles. The U.S. has threatened major sanctions if Turkey follows through on purchasing the weapon system.

The council's board includes Ekim Alptekin, a Turkish businessman accused of conspiracy with the partner of former Trump National Security Council advisor Michael Flynn, who was indicted for secretly acting as a foreign agent in a Turkish influence campaign. SGR LLC, a firm registered under FARA as a foreign agent of the Dutch company owned by Alptekin for work related to Flynn, went on to be subpoenaed by special counsel Robert Mueller's team.

Among the sponsors of the Turkish-American conference at Trump International Hotel was Turkish Airlines, which is partially-owned by the Turkish government and has hosted multiple World Golf Cup events at Trump clubs, including Trump National Doral in Miami and Trump National Golf Club outside of D.C.

Turkey has done its best to directly lobby the Trump administration, paying \$500,000 to Flynn to advance its interests. The Turkey-US Business Council and



the Turkish government each inked contracts with Mercury Public Affairs in 2018. Turkey inked a deal with Ballard Partners in 2017 to appeal to the Trump administration. Turkish registrants have spent nearly \$13 million on foreign lobbying and influence operations since 2017.

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**United Arab Emirates**

Promises that the Trump Organization would not make new foreign deals while President Trump is in office have not impeded considerable expansion of Trump's business empire through previously announced prospects.

Trump International Golf Club in Dubai opened in February 2017, within weeks of Trump's inauguration. Eric Trump and Donald Trump Jr. traveled to Dubai to celebrate the course's opening, a trip that cost the Secret Service \$250,000.

Announced in 2013, the 18-hole golf course was developed by major Dubai real estate developer Damac Properties, which licenses the Trump name and pays the Trump Organization to run the course. Trump reported making just \$12,984 from the property in 2017. That number jumped up to \$314,580 last year.

The Trump Organization is exploring a second Dubai golf course with Damac designed by legendary golfer Tiger Woods, who Trump recently gave the prestigious Presidential Medal of Freedom and has golfed with multiple times since winning the presidency.

Trump World Golf Club Dubai was slated to open in late 2017 under a similar licensing and management agreement between Damac and the Trump Organization. Damac awarded a contract to a Chinese firm to build sections of the new course, which has been delayed into 2019.

United Arab Emirates has spent \$35.7 million on foreign lobbying and influence operations since Trump took office.

FARA records for the Abu Dhabi Tourism & Culture Authority listed their New York address as a floor in Trump Tower from 2012 until shortly after Trump's election, a decision the U.S. manager of Abu Dhabi's tourism operations said was made months before Trump was elected.



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Trump's business interests in Uruguay center around Punta del Este, a Uruguayan beach town on a spit of land jutting into the South Atlantic Ocean that town has been said to have "started off as a money laundromat for Argentines" where wealthy investors could stow away invest money and evade taxes in their home country.

First announced in 2012, Trump's waterfront Punta del Este tower was slated to be completed by 2016, fully equipped with an indoor tennis court and a rooftop helipad.

Since Trump's 2016 election, however, those plans have been subject to some volatility. As of January 2017, construction had reached the 25th floor of the 26-story tower. But each floor remained a concrete skeleton of framework.

The building now has a completion date scheduled for 2020 but recent reports suggest that even that may be too optimistic. Already four years behind schedule, the Trump Organization's Uruguay project has reportedly come to a complete halt.

When asked if it will be finished by the end-of-2020 target, a director of the union that represents the construction crew working on the property told the New York Times, "Of course not." At the current pace, he estimates it may take another four years, according to an interview published June 2, 2019. "There is no one working there. Everything is stalling," said one Argentinian with a contract on an apartment in the Trump building.

Trump's business partner on the Uruguay development is Argentina-based YY Development Group, whose managing partner is Moisés Yellati, Argentine finance minister Nicolás Dujovne's brother-in-law. Dujovne himself reportedly tried to sell condos in Trump's Punta del Este building during earlier stages of development, and the Argentine finance minister's father, Bernardo Dujovne, heads Dujovne-Hirsche & Associates, which is the firm working with YY Development to build Trump's tower in Punta del Este.

YY Development was also in charge of a now-reportedly stalled Trump project in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Jorge Pieri, a Uruguayan architect, was brought on to get the Punta del Este development's permits approved by the government of Maldonado. At that time, his father was an official at the department's Ministry of Planning, though Pieri claims no special exemptions were needed and his father did not help obtain the permits.

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Weeks before his father's presidential inauguration, Eric Trump traveled to Uruguay to check on the building's progress, tweeting pictures of the partially constructed tower. He has continued visiting the property during Trump's presidency, including visits this year. Just one of Eric Trump's previous trips to Uruguay reportedly cost the U.S. taxpayers "nearly \$100,000 in hotel rooms for Secret Service and embassy staff."

Because the Trump Organization only takes a cut of revenue from condo sales at the Punta del Este tower in exchange for licensing the "Trump" name rather than investing its own cash up front, the tower's construction was to be paid for with money raised by selling condos, which necessitated quickly finding buyers.

YY Development relied heavily on Trump's name and brand to sell the condos, featuring references to Trump and his businesses prominently on the firm's website.

A developer said Trump's name helped sell 130 of 154 units. After Trump's victory in the election, apartment prices in the tower reportedly increased 30 to 35 percent, with prices ranging from \$550,000 to \$8 million.

Condos were sold to at least 21 anonymous companies in offshore jurisdictions, including Panama and Belize, according to real estate records reviewed by the New York Times.

At least three apartments in Trump's Punta del Este tower were sold to companies and individuals tied to a pair of Uruguayan accountants who collaborated to set up shell companies with the Panama law firm Mossack Fonseca — the subject of the Panama Papers leak that revealed numerous examples of offshore money laundering and tax evasion.

On top of those questionable contracts, YY Development used the development's land as collateral to take out at least two loans totaling millions of dollars. The

second of the two loans was reportedly kept secret from some condo buyers, according to court records, causing some buyers to pull out.

A broker, Fortune Realty of Miami, filed a lawsuit in Uruguay against YY Development for \$3.3 million in allegedly unpaid commissions plus damages and plans to seek an “embargo” of the property, which could prevent the sale of some units until resolution of the lawsuit.

The tower is currently uninhabited.

## Other Countries

Trump also holds trademarks and other interests in Australia, Egypt, the European Union, Chile, New Zealand, Malaysia, Morocco and South Africa.

He’s also reportedly benefitted from a host of other foreign countries. For example, Kuwait’s government has started to hold their annual Kuwait National Day celebration at Trump International Hotel, just blocks from the White House. Their 2019 celebration was attended by Kuwaiti royalty along with members of Trump’s team including Wilbur Ross, Ben Carson and Kellyanne Conway.

*Researchers Alex Baumgart and Grace Haley contributed to this report.*

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